CHARACTERISTICS

OF

MEN, MANNERS, OPINIONS, TIMES,

WITH

A COLLECTION OF LETTERS.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE

ANTONY EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

VOL. III.

BASIL:

rinted for J. J. TOURNEISEN; and J. L. LEGRAND.

MDCCXC.

CONTENTS.

OF THE

THIRD VOLUME.

TREATISE VI.

VIZ.

MISCELLANEOUS REFLECTIONS.

Scilicet uni æquus virtuti, atque ejus amicis.
Hor. sat. 1. lib. 2.

BOOKS printed by J. J. TOURNEISEN.

BOLINGBROKE's Letters on the Use and Study of History, 1 vol. 8.

GIBBON's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 13 vol. 8.

The same in 14 vol. 8.

NB. For the commodity of the Readers the Notes are in this new edition printed separately and form the 13th and 14th volumes.

ROBERTSON's History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V. 4 vol. 8.

BLAIR's Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, 3 vol. 8.

KIPPIS' Life of Captain James Cook, 2 vol. 8.

FERGUSON's Essay on the History of Civil Society, 1 vol. 8.

KEATE's Account of the Pelew-Islands, 1 vol. 8.

HUME's History of England, 12 vol. 8.

GILLIES' History of Ancient Greece, 5 vol. 8.

MIDDLETON's Life of Cicero, 4 vol. 8.

A New Edition with considerable Additions and Corrections of

SHAFTESBURY's Characteristics, 3 vol 8.

ROBERTSON's History of America, 3 vol. 8.

The Continuation is in the Press, as also

SMITH's Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the wealth of Nations, 4 vol 8.

WATSON's History of the Reign of Philip II. King of Spain, 3 vol. 8.

MISCELLANEOUS REFLECTIONS.

MISCELLANY I.

CHAP. I.

Of the nature, rise, and establishment of MISCELLANIES. ——*The subject of these which follow.*——*Intention of the* writer.

PEACE be with the soul of that charitable and courteous author, who, for the common benefit of his fellow-authors, introduced the ingenious way of Miscellaneous writing!——It must be owned, that since this happy method was established, the harvest of wit has been more plentiful; and the laborers more in number than heretofore. It is well known to the able practitioners in the writing art, " That as easy as it is to conceive " wit, it is the hardest thing imaginable to be " delivered of it, upon certain terms." Nothing could be more severe or rigid than the conditions formerly prescribed to writers, when Criticism took place, and regularity and order were thought essential in a treatise. The notion of a genuine work, a legitimate and just piece, has certainly

been the occaſion of great timidity and backwardneſs among the adventurers in wit: and the impoſition of ſuch ſtrict laws and rules of compoſition, has ſat heavy on the free ſpirits and forward geniuſes of mankind. It was a yoke, it ſeems, which our forefathers bore; but which, for our parts, we have generouſly thrown off. In effect, the invidious diſtinctions of baſtardy and legitimacy being at length removed, the natural and lawful iſſue of the brain comes with like advantage into the world: and wit (mere Wit) is well received, without examination of the kind, or cenſure of the form.

This the Miſcellaneous manner of writing, it muſt be owned, has happily effected. It has rendered almoſt every ſoil productive. It has diſcloſed thoſe various ſeeds of wit, which lay ſuppreſſed in many a boſom; and has reared numberleſs conceits and curious fancies, which the natural rudeneſs and aſperity of their native ſoil would have with-held, or at leaſt not have permitted to riſe above the ground. From every field, from every hedge or hillock, we now gather as delicious fruits and fragrant flowers, as of old from the richeſt and beſt cultivated gardens. Miſerable were thoſe ancient planters, who, underſtanding not how to conform themſelves to the rude taſte of unpoliſhed mankind, made it ſo difficult a taſk to ſerve the world with intellectual entertainments, and furniſh out the repaſts of literature and ſcience.

There was certainly a time when the name

of Author ſtood for ſomething conſiderable in the world. To ſucceed happily in ſuch a labor as that of writing a treatiſe or a poem, was taken as a ſure mark of underſtanding and good ſenſe. The taſk was painful: but, it ſeems, it was honorable. How the caſe happened, in proceſs of time to be ſo much reverſed, is hard to ſay. The primitive authors perhaps being few in number, and highly reſpected for their art, fell under the weight of envy. Being ſenſible of their misfortune in this reſpect, and being excited, as it is probable, by the example of ſome popular genius, they quitted their regular ſchemes and accurate forms of workmanſhip, in favor of thoſe wits who could not poſſibly be received as Authors upon ſuch difficult terms. It was neceſſary, it ſeems, that the bottom of wit ſhould be enlarged. It was adviſable that more hands ſhould be taken into the work. And nothing could better ſerve this popular purpoſe, than the way of Miſcellany, or common Eſſay; in which the moſt confuſed head, if fraught with a little invention, and provided with common-place-book-learning, might exert itſelf to as much advantage as the moſt orderly and well-ſettled judgment.

To explain the better how this revolution in letters has been effected, it may not perhaps be indecent, ſhould we offer to compare our writing-artiſts to the manufacturers in ſtuff or ſilk. For among theſe it is eſteemed a principal piece of ſkill to frame a pattern, or plan of workmanſhip, in which the ſeveral colors are agreeably diſpoſed;

with ſuch proportionable adjuſtment of the various figures and devices, as may, in the whole, create a kind of harmony to the eye. According to this method, each piece muſt be, in reality, an original. For to copy what has gone before, can be of no uſe. The fraud would eaſily be perceived. On the other ſide, to work originally, and in a manner create each time anew, muſt be a matter of preſſing weight, and fitted to the ſtrength and capacity of none beſides the choiceſt workmen.

A manner therefore is invented to confound this ſimplicity and conformity of deſign. Patchwork is ſubſtituted. Cuttings and ſhreds of learning, with various fragments, and points of wit, are drawn together, and tacked in any fantaſtic form. If they chance to caſt a luſtre, and ſpread a ſort of ſprightly glare, the Miſcellany is approved, and the complex form and texture of the work admired. The eye, which before was to be won by regularity, and had kept true to meaſure and ſtrict proportion, is by this means pleaſingly drawn aſide, to commit a kind of debauch, and amuſe itſelf in gaudy colors, and disfigured ſhapes of things. Cuſtom, in the mean while, has not only tolerated this licentiouſneſs, but rendered it even commendable, and brought it into the higheſt repute. The wild and whimſical, under the name of the odd and pretty, ſucceed in the room of the graceful and the beautiful. Juſtneſs and accuracy of thought are ſet aſide, as too conſtraining, and of too painful an aſpect to be endured

in the agreeable and more eaſy commerce of gallantry, and modern wit.

Now, ſince it has been thought convenient, in theſe latter ages, to diſtinguiſh the provinces of Wit and Wiſdom, and ſet apart the agreeable from the uſeful, it is evident there could be nothing deviſed more ſuitable to the diſtinct and ſeparate intereſt of the former of theſe provinces, than this complex manner of performance which we call Miſcellany. For whatever is capricious and odd, is ſure to create diverſion, to thoſe who look no further. And where there is nothing like nature, there is no room for the troubleſome part of thought or contemplation. It is the perfection of certain groteſque-painters, to keep as far from nature as poſſible. To find a likeneſs in their works, is to find the greateſt fault imaginable. A natural connexion is a ſlur. A coherence, a deſign, a meaning, is againſt their purpoſe, and deſtroys the very ſpirit and genius of their workmanſhip.

I remember formerly when I was a ſpectator in the French theatre, I found it the cuſtom, at the end of every grave and ſolemn tragedy, to introduce a comic farce, or Miſcellany, which they called the little piece. We have indeed a method ſtill more extraordinary upon our own ſtage. For we think it agreeable and juſt, to mix the little piece or farce with the main plot or fable through every act. This perhaps may be the rather choſen, becauſe our tragedy is ſo much deeper and bloodier than that of the French, and therefore needs

more immediate refreſhment from the elegant way of drollery, and burleſque wit; which being thus cloſely interwoven with its oppoſite, makes that moſt accompliſhed kind of theatrical Miſcellany, called by our poets tragi-comedy.

I could go further perhaps, and demonſtrate, from the writings of many of our grave divines, the ſpeeches of our ſenators, and other principal models of our national erudition, "That the Miſ-"cellaneous manner is at preſent in the higheſt "eſteem." But ſince my chief intention in the following ſheets is to deſcant curſorily upon ſome late pieces of a Britiſh author, I will preſume, that what I have ſaid already on this head is ſufficient; and that it will not be judged improper or abſurd in me, as I proceed, to take advantage of this miſcellaneous taſte which now evidently prevails. According to this method, whilſt I ſerve as critic or interpreter to this new writer, I may the better correct his phlegm, and give him more of the faſhionable air and manner of the world; eſpecially in what relates to the ſubject and manner of his two laſt pieces, which are contained in his ſecond volume. For theſe being of the more regular and formal kind, may eaſily be oppreſſive to the airy reader; and may therefore, with the ſame aſſurance as tragedy, claim the neceſſary relief of the little piece or farce above-mentioned.

Nor ought the title of a Miſcellaneous writer to be denied me, on the account that I have grounded my miſcellanies upon a certain ſet of treatiſes already publiſhed. Grounds and foundations

are of no moment in a kind of work, which, according to modern eſtabliſhment, has properly neither top nor bottom, beginning nor end. Beſides, that I ſhall no way confine myſelf to the preciſe contents of theſe treatiſes; but, like my fellow-miſcellanarians, ſhall take occaſion to vary often from my propoſed ſubject, and make what deviations or excurſions I ſhall think fit, as I proceed in my random Eſſays.

CHAP. II.

Of controverſial *writings: anſwers: replies.* — — — Polemic *divinity; or the writing church-militant.* — — — Philoſophers, *and bear-garden.* — — — Authors *paired and matched.* — — — *The match-makers.* — — — *Foot-ball.* — — — *A* dialogue *between our author and his bookſeller.*

AMONG the many improvements daily made in the art of writing, there is none perhaps which can be ſaid to have attained a greater height than that of controverſy, or the method of anſwer and refutation. It is true indeed, that anciently the wits of men were for the moſt part taken up in other employment. If authors writ ill, they were deſpiſed; if well, they were by ſome party or other eſpouſed. For parties there would neceſſarily be, and ſects of every kind, in learning and philoſophy. Every one ſided with whom he liked; and having the liberty of hearing each ſide ſpeak

for itself, stood in no need of express warning-pieces against pretended sophistry, or dangerous reasoning. Particular answers to single treatises, were thought to be of little use. And it was esteemed no compliment to a reader, to help him so carefully in the judgment of every piece which came abroad. Whatever sects there were in those days, the zeal of party-causes ran not so high as to give the reader a taste of those personal reproaches, which might pass in a debate between the different party-men.

Thus matters stood of old; when as yet the method of writing controversy was not raised into an art, nor the feuds of contending authors become the chief amusement of the learned world. But we have at present so high a relish of this kind, that the writings of the learned are never truly gustful, till they are come to what we may properly enough call their due ripeness, and have begot a fray. When the answer and reply is once formed, our curiosity is excited; we begin then, for the first time to whet our attention, and apply our ear.

For example: Let a zealous divine, and flaming champion of our faith, when inclined to show himself in print, make choice of some tremendous mystery of religion, opposed heretofore by some damnable heresiarch; whom having vehemently refuted, he turns himself towards the orthodox opinion, and supports the true belief, with the highest eloquence and profoundest erudition; he shall, notwithstanding this, remain perhaps in deep

obſcurity, to the great affliction of his bookſeller, and the regret of all who bear a juſt veneration for church-hiſtory, and the ancient purity of the Chriſtian faith. But let it ſo happen, that, in this proſecution of his deceaſed adverſary, our doctor raiſes up ſome living antagoniſt; who, on the ſame foot of orthodoxy with himſelf, pretends to arraign his expoſitions, and refute the refuter upon every article he has advanced; from this moment the writing gathers life, the public liſtens, the bookſeller takes heart, and when iſſue is well joined, the repartees grown ſmart, and the contention vigorous between the learned parties, a ring is made, and readers gather in abundance. Every one takes party, and encourages his own ſide. "This ſhall be my champion! ——— This "man for my money! —— Well hit, on our ſide! "——Again, a good ſtroke! —— There he was "even with him! ——— Have at him the next "bout!" ——— Excellent ſport! and when the combatants are for a while drawn off, and each retired with his companions; what praiſes and congratulations! what applauſes of the ſuppoſed victor! and how honorably is he ſaluted by his favorers, and complimented even to the diſturbance of his modeſty! "Nay, but gentlemen!— "Good Gentlemen do you really think thus?— "Are you ſincere with me? ——— Have I treated "my adverſary as he deſerves? Never "was man ſo mauled. Why, you have "killed him downright. O, Sirs! you "flatter me. He can never riſe more.

"Think ye so indeed? Or if he should, "it would be a pleasure to see how you would "handle him."

These are the triumphs. This is what sets sharp; this gives the author his edge, and excites the reader's attention; when the trumpets are thus sounded to the crowd, and a kind of amphitheatrical entertainment exhibited to the multitude, by these gladiatorian penmen.

The author of the preceding treatises being by profession a nice inspector into the ridicule of things, must in all probability have raised to himself some such views as these, which hindered him from engaging in the way of controversy. For, when by accident, the first of these treatises [1] (a private letter, and, in the writer's esteem, little worthy of the public's notice) came to be read abroad in copies, and afterwards in print, the smartest answers which came out against it, could not, it seems, move our author to form any reply. All he was heard to say in return was, "That he thought whoever had taken upon him "to publish a book in answer to that casual piece, "had certainly made either a very high compli-"ment to the author, or a very ill one to the "public."

It must be owned, that when a writer of any kind is so considerable as to deserve the labor and pains of some shrewd heads to refute him in public, he may, in the quality of an author, be justly

[1] *Viz.* The letter concerning enthusiasm.

congratulated on that occaſion. It is ſuppoſed neceſſarily, that he muſt have writ with ſome kind of ability or wit. But if his original performance be in truth no better than ordinary, his anſwerer's taſk muſt certainly be very mean. He muſt be very indifferently employed, who would take upon him to anſwer nonſenſe in form, ridicule what is of itſelf a jeſt, and put it upon the world to read a ſecond book, for the ſake of the impertinencies of a former.

Taking it, however, for granted, "That a ſorry "treatiſe may be the foundation of a conſiderable "anſwer;" a reply ſtill muſt certainly be ridiculous, whichever way we take it. For either the author, in his original piece, has been truly refuted, or not. If refuted, why does he defend? if not refuted, why trouble himſelf? What has the public to do with his private quarrels, or his adverſary's impertinence? Or ſuppoſing the world, out of curioſity, may delight to ſee a pedant expoſed by a man of better wit, and a controverſy thus unequally carried on between two ſuch oppoſite parties; how long is this diverſion likely to hold good? and what will become of theſe polemic writings a few years hence? What is already become of thoſe mighty controverſies, with which ſome of the moſt eminent authors amuſed the world within the memory of the youngeſt ſcholar? An original work or two may perhaps remain; but for the ſubſequent defences, the anſwers, rejoinders, and replications; they have been long ſince paying their attendance to

the paſtry-cooks. Mankind perhaps were heated at that time, when firſt thoſe matters were debated: but they are now cool again. They laughed; they carried on the humor; they blew the coals; they teaſed, and ſet on, maliciouſly, and to create themſelves diverſion. But the jeſt is now over. No one ſo much as inquires where the wit was; or where poſſibly the ſting ſhould lie of thoſe notable reflections and ſatirical hints, which were once found ſo pungent, and gave the readers ſuch high delight. ——Notable philoſophers and divines, who can be contented to make ſport, and write in learned Billingſgate, to divert the coffeehouſe, and entertain the aſſemblies at bookſellers ſhops, or the more airy ſtalls of inferior book-retailers!

It muſt be allowed, that in this reſpect controverſial writing is not ſo wholly unprofitable; and that for book-merchants of whatever kind or degree, they undoubtedly receive no ſmall advantage from a right improvement of a learned ſcuffle. Nothing revives them more or makes a quicker trade, than a pair of ſubſtantial divines, or grave philoſophers, well matched, and ſoundly backed; till, by long worrying one another, they are grown out of breath, and have almoſt loſt their force of biting. ——"So have I known a crafty "glazier, in time of froſt, procure a foot-ball, "to draw into the ſtreet the emulous chiefs of "the robuſt youth. The timid bladder bounds "at every kick, burſts the withſtanding caſements, "the chaſſies, lanterns, and all the brittle vitre-

" ous ware. The noiſe of blows and outcries fills
" the whole neighbourhood; the ruins of glaſs
" cover the ſtony pavements, till the bloated
" battering engine, ſubdued by force of foot and
" fiſt, and yielding up its breath at many a fatal
" cranny, becomes lank and harmleſs, ſinks in its
" flight, and can no longer uphold the ſpirit of
" the contending parties."

This our author ſuppoſes to have been the occaſion of his being ſo often and zealouſly complimented by his amanuenſis, (for ſo he calls his bookſeller or printer[1]), on the fame of his firſt piece. The obliging craftſman has at times preſented him with many a handſome book, ſet off with titles of remarks, reflections, and the like, which, as he aſſured him, were Anſwers to his ſmall treatiſe. "Here, Sir!" ſays he, "you have
" a conſiderable hand has undertaken you!——
" This Sir, is a reverend——This a right re-
" verend——This a noted author——Will
" you not reply, Sir?——On my word, Sir,
" the world is in expectation.——Pity they
" ſhould be diſappointed! A dozen ſheets, Sir,
" would be ſufficient.——You might diſpatch
" it preſently. Think you ſo?
" I have my paper ready.——And a good
" letter.——Take my word for it.——
" You ſhall ſee, Sir! Enough. But hark
" ye (Mr A, a, a, a), my worthy engineer and
" manager of the war of letters! Ere you prepare

[1] Vol. 1. p. 262.

" your artillery, or engage me in acts of hostility, " let me hear, I intreat you, whether or no my " adversary be taken notice of.——Wait for his " second edition. And if by next year, or year " or two after, it be known in good company, " that there is such a book in being, I shall then " perhaps think it time to consider of a reply."

CHAP. III.

Of the letter concerning enthusiasm. —— *Foreign critics.* —— *Of* letters *in general; and of the* epistolary *style.* —— *Addresses to great men* —— *Authors and horsemanship.* —— *The modern amble.* — *Further explanation of the* Miscellaneous manner.

As resolute as our author may have shown himself in refusing to take notice of the smart writings published against him by certain zealots of his own country, he could not, it seems, but out of curiosity observe what the foreign and more impartial critics might object to his small treatise, which he was surprised to hear had been translated into foreign languages, soon after it had been published here at home. The first censure of this kind which came to our author's sight, was that of the Paris Journal des savans[1]. Considering how little favorable the author of the letter had shown himself towards the Romish

[1] Du 25 Mars 1709.

church, and policy of France, it muſt be owned thoſe journaliſts have treated him with ſufficient candor; though they failed not to take what advantages they well could againſt the writing, and particularly arraigned it for the want of order and method[2].

The Proteſtant writers, ſuch as live in a free country, and can deliver their ſentiments without conſtraint, have certainly done our author more honor than he ever preſumed to think he could deſerve[3]. His tranſlator indeed, who had done him the previous honor of introducing him to the acquaintance of the foreign world, repreſents particularly, by the turn given to the latter end of the letter, that the writer of it was, as to his condition and rank, little better than an inferior dependent on the Noble Lord to whom he had addreſſed himſelf. And in reality, the original has ſo much of that air, that I wonder not, if what the author left ambiguous, the tranſlator has determined to the ſide of clientſhip and dependency.

But whatever may have been the circumſtance or character of our author himſelf, that of his great friend ought in juſtice to have been conſidered by thoſe former critics above-mentioned.

[2] Ses penſées ne ſemblent occuper dans ſon ouvrage, que la place que le hazard leur a donnée. *Ibid. p.* 181.

[3] (1.) Bibliothéque choiſie, année 1709. tome 19. p. 427. (2.) Hiſtoire des ouvrages des ſavans, mois d'Octobre, Novembre, et Decembre 1708. p. 514. (3.) Nouvelles de la republique des lettres, mois de Mars 1710.

So much at least should have been taken notice of, that there was a real Great Man characterized, and suitable measures of address and style preserved. But they who would neither observe this, nor apprehend the letter itself to be real, were insufficient critics, and unqualified to judge of the turn or humor of a piece, which they had never considered in a proper light.

It is become indeed so common a practice among authors, to feign a correspondency, and give the title of a private letter, to a piece addressed solely to the public, that it would not be strange to see other journalists and critics, as well as the gentlemen of Paris, pass over such particularities, as things of form. This prejudice, however, could not misguide a chief critic of the protestant side; when mentioning this letter concerning enthusiasm [4], he speaks of it as a real letter, (such as in truth it was), not a precise and formal Treatise [5], designed for public view.

It will be owned surely, by those who have learned to judge of elegancy and wit by the help merely of modern languages, that we could have little relish of the best letters of a Balsac or

[4] Ceux qui l'ont luë ont pû voir en général, que l'auteur ne s'y est pas proposé un certain plan, pour traiter sa matiere méthodiquement; parceque c'est une lettre, et non un traité. *Bibliothéque Choisie. Ibid. p.* 428.

[5] If in this joint edition, with other works, *the letter* be made to pass under that general name of *treatise*; it is the bookseller must account for it. For the author's part, he considers it as no other than what it originally was.

Voiture,

Voiture, were we wholly ignorant of the characters of the principal perſons to whom thoſe letters were actually written. But much leſs could we find pleaſure in this reading, ſhould we take it into our heads, that both the perſonages and correſpondency itſelf were merely fictitious. Let the beſt of Tully's epiſtles be read in ſuch a narrow view as this, and they will certainly prove very inſipid. If a real Brutus, a real Atticus be not ſuppoſed, there will be no real Cicero. The elegant writer will diſappear: as will the vaſt labor and art with which this eloquent Roman writ thoſe letters to his illuſtrious friends. There was no kind of compoſition in which this great author prided or pleaſed himſelf more than in this; where he endeavoured to throw off the mien of the philoſopher and orator, whilſt in effect he employed both his rhetoric and philoſophy with the greateſt force. They who can read an epiſtle or ſatire of Horace in ſomewhat better than a mere ſcholaſtic reliſh, will comprehend, that the concealment of order and method, in this manner of writing, makes the chief beauty of the work. They will own, that unleſs a reader be in ſome meaſure apprized of the characters of an Auguſtus, a Mæcenas, a Florus, or a Trebatius, there will be little reliſh in thoſe ſatires or epiſtles addreſſed in particular to the courtiers, miniſters, and great men of the times. Even the Satiric, or Miſcellaneous manner of the polite ancients, required as much order as the moſt regular pieces. But the art was to deſtroy every ſuch token or appearance, give

an extemporary air to what was writ, and make the effect of art be felt, without discovering the artifice. There needs no further explanation on this head. Our author himself has said enough in his advice to an Author[6], particularly where he treats of the simple style, in contradiction to the learned, the formal, or methodic.

It is a different case indeed, when the title of epistle is improperly given to such works as were never writ in any other view than that of being made public, or to serve as exercises or specimens of the wit of their composer. Such were those infinite numbers of Greek and Latin epistles, writ by the ancient sophists, grammarians, or rhetoricians; where we find the real character of the epistle, the genuine style and manners of the corresponding parties sometimes imitated; but at other times not so much as aimed at, nor any measures of historical truth preserved. Such perhaps we may esteem even the letters of a Seneca[7]

[6] Vol. I. p. 201. 221, 222.

[7] It is not the *person*, *character*, or *genius*, but the *style* and manner of this great man, which we presume to censure. We acknowledge his noble sentiments and worthy actions. We own *the patriot* and *good minister:* but we reject *the writer*. He was the first of any note or worth, who gave credit to that *false* style and manner here spoken of. He might, on this account, be called in reality *the corrupter of* Roman *eloquence*. This indeed could not but naturally, and of itself, become relax and dissolute, after such a relaxation and dissolution of manners, consequent to the change of government, and to the horrid luxury and effeminacy of the *Roman* court, even before the time of a *Claudius*, or a *Nero*. There

to his friend Lucilius. Or ſuppoſing that philoſophical courtier had really ſuch a correſpondency; and, at ſeveral times, had ſent ſo many fair epiſtles, honeſtly ſigned and ſealed, to his country-friend at a diſtance; it appears, however, by the

was no more poſſibility of making a ſtand for language, than for liberty. As the world now ſtood, the higheſt glory which could be attained by mortal man, was to be mitigator or moderator of that univerſal tyranny already eſtablished. To this I muſt add, that in every city, principality, or ſmaller nation, where *ſingle* Will prevails, and court-power, inſtead of laws and conſtitutions, guides the ſtate; it is of the higheſt difficulty for the beſt miniſter to procure a juſt, or even a tolerable adminiſtration. Where ſuch a miniſter is found, who can but moderately influence the petty tyranny, he deſerves conſiderable applauſe and honor. But in the caſe we have mentioned, where a univerſal monarchy was actually eſtablished, and the intereſt of a whole world concerned; *he* ſurely muſt have been eſteemed a guardian-angel, who, as *a prime miniſter*, could, for ſeveral years, turn the very worſt of courts, and worſt-conditioned of all princes, to the fatherly care and juſt government of mankind. Such a *miniſter* was *Seneca* under an *Agrippina* and a *Nero*. And ſuch he was acknowledged by the ancient and never ſparing *ſatiriſts*, who could not forbear to celebrate, withal, his *generoſity* and *friendship* in a private life:

Nemo petit modicis quæ mittebantur amicis
A Seneca: quæ Piſo bonus, quæ Cotta ſolebat
Largiri: namque et titulis, et facibus olim
Major hubebatur donandi gloria.

Juvenal. ſat. 5.

— — — — — — — *Quis tam*
Perditus, ut dubitet Senecam præferre Neroni?

Id. ſat. 8.

epistles themselves, in their proper order, (if they may be said to have any), that, after a few attempts at the beginning, the author by degrees loses sight of his correspondent, and takes the world in general for his reader or disciple. He falls into the random way of miscellaneous writing; says every where great and noble things, in and out of the way, accidentally as words led him, (for with these he plays perpetually); with infinite wit, but with little or no coherence; without a shape or body to his work; without a real beginning, a middle, or an end[8]. Of a hundred

This remark is what I have been tempted to make by the way, on the *character* of this *Roman* author, more mistaken (if I am not very much so myself) than any other so generally studied. As for the *philosophic* character or function imputed to him, it was foreign, and no way proper or peculiar to one who never assumed so much as that of *sophist*, or *pensionary teacher of philosophy*. He was far wide of any such order or profession. There is great difference between a courtier who takes a fancy for philosophy, and a philosopher who should take a fancy for a court. Now, *Seneca* was born *a courtier*; being son of a court-*rhetor*; himself bred in the same manner, and taken into favor for his wit and genius, his admired style and eloquence; not for his learning in the books of philosophy and the ancients For this indeed was not very profound in him. In short, he was a man of wonderful wit, fluency of thoughs and language, an *able minister*, and *honest courtier*. And what has been delivered down to his prejudice, is by the common enemy of all the free and generous *Romans*, that apish shallow historian, and court-flatterer, *Dion Cassius*, of a low age, when barbarism (as may be easily seen in his own work) came on apace, and the very traces and features of virtue, science, and knowledge, were wearing out of the world.

[8] Infra, Misc. 5. chap. 1. parag. 6. from the end, in the notes; and vol. 1. p. 126.

and twenty-four epiſtles, you may, if you pleaſe, make five hundred or half a ſcore. A great one, for inſtance, you may divide into five or ſix. A little one you may tack to another; and that to another; and ſo on. The unity of the writing will be the ſame; the life and ſpirit full as well preſerved. It is not only whole letters or pages you may change and manage thus at pleaſure: every period, every ſentence almoſt is independent; and may be taken aſunder, tranſpoſed, poſtponed, anticipated, or ſet in any new order, as you fancy.

This is the manner of writing ſo much admired and imitated in our age, that we have ſcarce the idea of any other model. We know little, indeed, of the difference between one model or character of writing and another. All runs to the ſame tune, and beats exactly one and the ſame meaſure. Nothing, one would think, could be more tedious than this uniform pace. The common Amble or Canterbury is not, I am perſuaded, more tireſome to a good rider, than this ſee-ſaw of Eſſay-writers is to an able reader. The juſt compoſer of a legitimate piece is like an able traveller, who exactly meaſures his journey, conſiders his ground, premeditates his ſtages, and intervals of relaxation and intention, to the very concluſion of his undertaking, that he happily arrives where he firſt propoſed when he ſet out. He is not preſently upon the ſpur, or in his full career; but walks his ſteed leiſurely out of his ſtable, ſettles himſelf in his ſtirrups, and when fair road and ſeaſon offer, puts on

perhaps to a round trot; thence into a gallop, and after a while takes up. As down or meadow, or ſhady lane preſent themſelves, he accordingly ſuits his pace, favors his palfry; and is ſure not to bring him puffing, and in heat, into his laſt inn. But the poſt-way is become highly faſhionable with modern authors. The very ſame ſtroke ſets you out, and brings you in. Nothing ſtays, or interrupts. Hill or valley; rough or ſmooth; thick or thin: no difference; no variation. When an author ſits down to write, he knows no other buſineſs he has, than to be witty, and take care that his periods be well turned, or, as they commonly ſay, run ſmooth. In this manner, he doubts not to gain the character of bright. When he has writ as many pages as he likes, or as his run of fancy would permit, he then perhaps conſiders what name he had beſt give to his new writing; whether he ſhould call it letter, eſſay, miſcellany, or ought elſe. The bookſeller perhaps is to determine this at laſt, when all, beſides the preface, epiſtle dedicatory, and title-page, is diſpatched.

——*Incertus Scamnum, faceretne Priapum.*
——*Deus inde ego!*

Hor. ſat. 8. lib. 1.

MISCELLANY II.

CHAP. I.

Review of Enthusiasm. *Its defence, praise:* —— *Use in business, as well as pleasure:* —— *Operation by fear, love.* —— *Modifications of* enthusiasm: *magnanimity; heroic virtue; honor; public zeal; religion; superstition; persecution; martyrdom.* —— *Energy of the ecstatic devotion in the tender sex.* —— *Account of ancient priesthood.* —— *Religious* war. —— *Reference to a succeeding chapter.*

WHETHER in fact there be any real enchantment, any influence of stars, any power of dæmons or foreign natures over our own minds, is thought questionable by many. Some there are who assert the negative, and endeavour to solve the appearances of this kind by the natural operation of our passions, and the common course of outward things. For my own part, I cannot but at this present apprehend a kind of enchantment or magic in that which we call Enthusiasm; since I find, that having touched slightly on this subject, I cannot so easily part with it at pleasure.

After having made some cursory reflections on our author's letter [1], I thought I might have sufficiently acquitted myself on this head, till passing to his next treatise, I found myself still further engaged. I perceived plainly, that I had as yet scarce entered into our author's humor, or felt any thing of that passion, which, as he informs us, is so easily communicable and naturally engaging. But what I had passed over in my first reflections, I found naturally rising in me, upon second thoughts. So that by experience I proved it true what our author says [2], "That we all of us know some-"thing of this principle." And now that I find I have in reality so much of it imparted to me, I may with better reason be pardoned, if, after our author's example, I am led to write on such subjects as these, with caution, at different reprises; and not singly, in one breath.

I have heard indeed, that the very reading of treatises and accounts of melancholy, has been apt to generate that passion in the over-diligent and attentive reader. And this perhaps may have been the reason why our author himself (as he seems to intimate towards the conclusion of his first letter [3]) cared not in reality to grapple closely with his subject, or give us, at once, the precise definition of Enthusiasm. This, however, we may, with our author, presume to infer, from the coolest of

[1] *Viz.* Letter concerning Enthusiasm, above, vol. 1. treatise 1.
[2] Vol. 1. p. 45, 46.
[3] *Viz.* treatise 1. (Letter of Enthusiasm), vol. 1. p. 46.

all ſtudies, even from criticiſm itſelf, (of which we have been lately treating[4]), "That there is "a power in numbers, harmony, proportion, "and beauty of every kind, which naturally cap- "tivates the heart, and raiſes the imagination to "an opinion or conceit of ſomething majeſtic and "divine."

Whatever this ſubject may be in itſelf, we cannot help being tranſported with the thought of it. It inſpires us with ſomething more than ordinary, and raiſes us above ourſelves. Without this imagination or conceit, the world would be but a dull circumſtance, and life a ſorry paſtime. Scarce could we be ſaid to live. The animal functions might in their courſe be carried on; but nothing further ſought for, or regarded. The gallant ſentiments, the elegant fancies, the belle paſſions, which have, all of them, this Beauty in view, would be ſet aſide, and leave us probably no other employment than that of ſatisfying our coarſeſt appetites at the cheapeſt rate, in order to the attainment or a ſupine ſtate of indolence and inactivity.

Slender would be the enjoyments of the lover, the ambitious man, the warrior, or the virtuoſo, (as our author has elſewhere[5] intimated), if in the beauties which they admire, and paſſionately purſue, there were no reference or regard to any higher majeſty or grandeur, than what ſimply

[4] Inquiry conc. Virtue, Book 1. p. 3. § 3. Book 4. p. 2. § 3. and The Moraliſts, p. 3. § 2. in vol. 2.

[5] The Moraliſts, p. 3. Sect. 2. in vol. 2.

results from the particular objects of their pursuit. I know not, in reality, what we should do to find a seasoning to most of our pleasures in life, were it not for the taste or relish which is owing to this particular passion, and the conceit or imagination which supports it. Without this, we could not so much as admire a poem, or a picture; a garden, or a palace; a charming shape, or a fair face. Love itself would appear the lowest thing in nature, when thus anticipated, and treated according to the anti-enthusiastic poet's method:

Et jacere humorem collectum in corpora quæque[6].

How heroism or magnanimity must stand in this hypothesis, is easy to imagine. The Muses themselves must make a very indifferent figure in this philosophical draught. Even the prince of poets' would prove a most insipid writer, if he were thus reduced. Nor could there, according to this scheme, be yet a place of honor left even for our Latin poet[8], the great disciple of this unpolite philosophy, who dares with so little equity employ the Muses' art in favor of such a system. But in spite of his philosophy, he every where gives way to admiration, and rapturous views of Nature. He is transported with the several beauties of the

[6] Lucret. lib. 4.

[7] Οὐδὲν μέρος Ὁμήρῳ ἄδεον, οὐδὲ δυνάστου ἄπορον, οὐδὲ ἀτεχνῶς ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα μετὰ θείων ὀνομάτων καὶ θείων λόγων, καὶ θείας τέχνης. Maximus Tyr. dissert. 16.

[8] Viz. Lucretius; as above, vol. 1. p. 43.

World, even whilst he arraigns the order of it, and destroys the principle of beauty, from whence in ancient languages the World[9] itself was named.

This is what our author advances, when in behalf of Enthusiasm he quotes its formal enemies, and shows that they are as capable of it as its greatest confessors and assertors. So far is he from degrading enthusiasm, or disclaiming it in himself, that he looks on this passion, simply considered, as the most natural, and its object as the justest in the world. Even Virtue itself he takes to be no other than a noble enthusiasm justly directed, and regulated by that high standard which he supposes in the nature of things.

He seems to assert[10], "That there are certain "moral species or appearances so striking, and "of such force over our natures, that when they "present themselves, they bear down all contrary "opinion or conceit, all opposite passion, sensa-"tion, or mere bodily affection." Of this kind he makes Virtue itself to be the chief; since of all views or contemplations, this, in his account, is the most naturally and strongly affecting. The exalted part of love is only borrowed hence. That of pure friendship is its immediate self. He who yields his life a sacrifice to his prince or country;

[9] Κόσμος, *mundus*. From whence that expostulation, Εν σοὶ μὴν τις κόσμος ὑφίστασθαι δύναται, ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ ἀκοσμία; M. Ανλ. βιβ. δ'. And that other allusion to the same word, Κόσμον δ' ἐτύμως τὸ σύμπαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀκοσμίαν ὀνομάζοις ἄν. Below, Misc. 5. chap. 1. parag. 5. from the end, in the notes.

[10] Vol. 1. p. 118. 119. &c.; and Inquiry con. Virtue Book 2. p. 2. § 1. in vol. 2.

the lover who for his paramour performs as much; the heroic, the amorous, the religious martyrs, who draw their views, whether visionary or real, from this pattern and exemplar of Divinity; all these, according to our author's sentiment, are alike actuated by this passion, and prove themselves in effect so many different enthusiasts.

Nor is thorough honesty, in its hypothesis, any other than this zeal, or passion, moving strongly upon the species or view of the Decorum, and Sublime of actions. Others may pursue different forms[11], and fix their eye on different species, (as all men do on one or other): the real honest man, however plain or simple he appears, has that highest species, honesty[12] itself, in view; and instead of outward forms or symmetries, is struck with that of inward character, the harmony and numbers of the heart, and beauty of the affections, which form the manners and conduct of a truly social life.

It is indeed peculiar to the genius of that cool philosophy above-described[13], that as it denies the order or harmony of things in general, so, by a just consequence and truth of reasoning, it rejects the habit of admiring or being charmed with whatever is called beautiful in particular. According to the regimen prescribed by this philosophy, it must be acknowledged, that the evils

[11] The Moralists, p. 3. § 3. in vol. 2.

[12] The *honestum*, *pulchrum*, τὸ καλὸν, πρέπειν. *Infra*, Misc. 3. chap. 2. parag. 6. from the end.

[13] Supra, p. 26.; and vol. 1. p. 40, 41. 99. &c.

of love, ambition, vanity, luxury, with other disturbances derived from the florid, high, and elegant ideas of things, must in appearance be set in a fair way of being radically cured.

It need not be thought surprising, that religion itself should, in the account of these philosophers, be reckoned among those vices and disturbances, which it concerns us after this manner to extirpate. If the idea of majesty and beauty in other inferior subjects be in reality distracting, it must chiefly prove so, in that principal subject, the basis and foundation of this conceit. Now, if the subject itself be not in nature, neither the idea, nor the passion grounded on it, can be properly esteemed natural: and thus all admiration ceases, and Enthusiasm is at an end. But if there be naturally such a passion, it is evident that Religion itself is of the kind, and must be therefore natural to man.

We can admire nothing profoundly, without a certain religious veneration. And because this borders so much on fear, and raises a certain tremor or horror of like appearance, it is easy to give that turn to the affection, and represent all Enthusiasm and religious ecstacy as the product or effect of Fear:

Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor.

But the original passion, as appears plainly, is of another kind, and in effect is so confessed by those who are the greatest opposers of religion, and

who, as our author obſerves, have ſhown themſelves ſufficiently convinced, "That although "theſe ideas of divinity and beauty were vain, "they were yet in a manner innate, or ſuch as "men were really born to, and could hardly by "any means avoid[14]."

Now, as all affections have their exceſs, and require judgment and diſcretion to moderate and govern them; ſo this high and noble affection, which raiſes men to action, and is his guide in buſineſs, as well as pleaſure, requires a ſteady rein and ſtrict hand over it. All moraliſts worthy of any name have recogniſed the paſſion; though among theſe the wiſeſt have preſcribed reſtraint, preſſed moderation, and to all Tyros in philoſophy forbid the forward uſe of admiration, rapture, or ecſtacy, even in the ſubjects they eſteemed the higheſt, and moſt divine. They knew very well that the firſt motion, appetite, and ardor of the youth in general towards philoſophy and knowledge[15], depended chiefly on this turn of temper: yet were they well apprized, withal, that in the progreſs of this ſtudy, as well as in the affairs of life, the florid ideas and exalted fancy of this kind became the fuel of many incendiary paſſions; and that, in religious concerns particularly, the habit of admiration and contemplative delight would, by over-indulgence, too

[14] Letter of Enthuſiaſm, vol. 1. p. 41.

[15] So *the Stagirite:* Διὰ γὰρ τὸ θαυμάζειν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ νῦν καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἤρξαντο φιλοσοφεῖν. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 2. See below, Miſc. 4. chap. 1. parag. 28. in the notes.

eaſily mount into high fanaticiſm, or degenerate into abject ſuperſtition.

Upon the whole, therefore, according to our author, Enthuſiaſm is, in itſelf, a very natural honeſt paſſion; and has properly nothing for its object but what is good and honeſt[16]. It is apt indeed, he confeſſes, to run aſtray. And by modern example we know, perhaps yet better than by any ancient, that, in religion, the Enthuſiaſm which works by love is ſubject to many ſtrange irregularities; and that which works by fear, to many monſtrous and horrible ſuperſtitions. Myſtics and fanatics are known to abound, as well in our reformed, as in the Romiſh churches. The pretended floods of grace poured into the boſoms of the quietiſts, pietiſts, and thoſe who favor the ecſtatic way of devotion, raiſe ſuch tranſports as by their own proſelytes are confeſſed to have ſomething ſtrangely agreeable, and in common with what ordinary lovers are uſed to feel. And it has been remarked by many, that the female ſaints have been the greateſt improvers of this ſoft part of religion. What truth there may be in the related operations of this pretended grace and amorous zeal, or in the accounts of what has uſually paſſed between the ſaints of each ſex, in theſe devout ecſtaſies, I ſhall leave the reader to examine; ſuppoſing he will find credible accounts, ſufficient to convince him of the dangerous progreſs of Enthuſiaſm in this amorous lineage.

[16] Τὸ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν.

There are many branches indeed more vulgar, as that of Fear, Melancholy, Consternation, Suspicion, Despair. And when the passion turns more towards the astonishing and frightful, than the amiable and delightful side, it creates rather what we call superstition than Enthusiasm. I must confess withal, that what we commonly style zeal in matters of religion, is seldom without a mixture of both these extravagancies. The ecstatic motions of love and admiration, are seldom unaccompanied with the horrors and consternations of a lower sort of devotion. These paroxysms of zeal are in reality as the hot and cold fits of an ague, and depend on the different and occasional views or aspects of the Divinity, according as the worshipper is guided from without[17], or affected from within, by his particular constitution. Seldom are those aspects so determinate and fixed, as to excite constantly one and the same spirit of devotion. In religions, therefore, which hold most of love, there is generally room left for terrors of the deepest kind. Nor is there any religion so diabolical, as, in its representation of Divinity, to leave no room for admiration and esteem. Whatever personage or spectre of Divinity is worshipped, a certain esteem and love is generally affected by his worshippers. Or if, in the devotion paid him, there be in truth no real or absolute esteem, there is, however, a certain astonishing delight or ravishment excited.

[17] Infra, Misc. 2. chap. 3. parag. 3. from the end.

This

This paſſion is experienced, in common, by every worſhipper of the zealot-kind. The motion, when unguided, and left wholly to itſelf, is in its nature turbulent and incentive. It disjoints the natural frame, and relaxes the ordinary tone or tenor of the mind. In this diſpoſition the reins are let looſe to all paſſion which ariſes: and the mind, as far as it is able to act or think in ſuch a ſtate, approves the riot, and juſtifies the wild effects, by the ſuppoſed ſacredneſs of the cauſe. Every dream and frenzy is made Inſpiration; every affection, zeal. And in this perſuaſion the zealots, no longer ſelf-governed, but ſet adrift to the wide ſea of paſſion, can in one and the ſame ſpirit of devotion exert the oppoſite paſſions of love and hatred; unite affectionately, and abhor furiouſly; curſe, bleſs, ſing, mourn, exult, tremble, careſs, aſſaſſinate, inflict and ſuffer Martyrdom [18], with a thouſand other the moſt vehement efforts of variable and contrary affection.

[18] A paſſage of hiſtory comes to my mind, as it is cited by an eminent divine of our own church, with regard to that *ſpirit* of Martyrdom which furniſhes, it ſeems, ſuch ſolid matter for the opinion and faith of many zealots. The *ſtory*, in the words of our *divine*, and his own reflections upon it, is as follows. "Two "*Franciſcans* offered themſelves to the fire to prove *Savanorola* to "be a heretic. But a certain *Jacobine* offered himſelf to the fire to "prove that *Savanorola* had true revelations, and was no heretic. "In the mean time *Savanorola* preached; but made no ſuch con- "fident offer, nor durſt he venture at that new kind of fire-ordeal. "And put caſe, all *four* had paſſed through the fire, and died in "the flames; what would that have proved? Had he been a he- "retic, or no heretic, the more, or the leſs, for the confidence of

The common Heathen religion, especially in its latter age, when adorned with the most beautiful temples, and rendered more illustrious by the munificence of the Roman senate and succeeding emperors, ran wholly into pomp, and was supported chiefly by that sort of Enthusiasm, which is raised from the external objects of grandeur, majesty, and what we call august[19]. On the other side, the Egyptian or Syrian religions, which lay more in mystery and concealed rites; having less dependence on the magistrate, and less of that decorum of art, politeness, and magnificence, ran into a more pusillanimous, frivolous, and mean kind of Superstition, "the observation of days, the "forbearance of meats, and the contention about "traditions, seniority of laws, and priority of "godships[20]."

— — — — — — — Summus utrinque
Inde furor vulgo, quod Numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus, quum solos credat habendos
Esse Deos, quos ipse colit. — —

History, withal, informs us of a certain establishment in Egypt, which was very extraordinary, and must needs have had a very uncommon effect;

"these zealous idiots? If we mark it, a great many arguments "whereon many *sects* rely, are no better probation than this "comes to." Bishop *Taylor*, in his dedicatory discourse before his *liberty* of *prophesying*. See *letter of enthusiasm*, vol. 1. p. 21, 22.

[19] Infra, Misc. 2. chap. 2. parag. 6. from the end.

[20] Juvenal. sat. 15. vers. 35. See the Moralists, part 3. § 1. in vol. 2.

no way advantageous to that nation in particular, or to the general ſociety of mankind. We know very well, that nothing is more injurious to the police, or municipal conſtitution of any city or colony, than the forcing of a particular trade. Nothing more dangerous than the overpeopling any manufacture, or multiplying the traders or dealers of whatever vocation, beyond their natural proportion, and the public demand. Now, it happened of old, in this mother-land of ſuperſtition, that the ſons of certain artiſts were by law obliged always to follow the ſame calling with their fathers[21]. Thus, the ſon of a prieſt was always a prieſt by birth, as was the whole lineage after him, without interruption. Nor was it a cuſtom with this nation, as with others, to have only one ſingle prieſt or prieſteſs to a temple[22]: but as the number of gods and temples

[21] Ἔϛι δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἐπτὰ γένεα. Καὶ τούτων, οἱ μὲν, Ἱρέες, οἱ δὲ, Μάχιμοι κεκλέαται. — Οὐδὲ τούτοισι ἕξεϛι τέχνην ἐπασκῆσαι ἑωυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐπασκέουσι μοῦνα, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενοι. Herodot. l. 2. § 164.

Ἱρᾶται δὲ οὐκ ἕις ἑκάϛου τῶν Θεῶν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ — ἐπεὰν δὲ τις ἀποθάνῃ, τούτου ὁ παῖς ἀνιϛατίϛαται. Ibid. § 37.

[22] Τῆς δὲ χώρας ἁπάσης εἰς τρία μέρη διῃρημένης, &c. Cum tota regio in tres partes diviſa ſit, primam ſibi portionem vindicat ordo ſacerdotum, magna apud indigenas auctoritate pollens, tum ob pietatem in Deos, tum quod multam ex eruditione ſcientiam ejuſmodi homines aſſerunt. Ex reditibus autem ſuis cuncta per Ægyptum ſacrificia procurant, miniſtros alunt; et propriis commoditatibus ancillantur, ταῖς ἰδίαις χρείαις χορηγοῦσιν. Non enim (Ægyptii) exiſtimant fas eſſe Deorum honores mutari, ſed ſemper ab eiſdem eodem ritu peragi, neque eos neceſſariorum copia deſtitui

was infinite, so was that of the priests. The religious foundations were without restriction; and to one single worship or temple, as many of the holy order might be retainers, as could raise a maintenance from the office.

Whatever happened to other races or professions, that of the priest, in all likelihood, must, by this regulation, have propagated the most of any. It is a tempting circumstance, to have so easy a mastery over the world; to subdue by wit instead of force; to practice on the passions, and triumph over the judgment of mankind; to influence private families, and public counsels; conquer conquerors; control the magistrate himself, and govern without the envy which attends all other government or superiority. No wonder if such a profession was apt to multiply; especially when we consider the easy living and security of the professors, their exemption from all labor and hazard; the supposed sacredness of their character; and their free possession of wealth, grandeur, estates, and women.

qui in commune omnibus consulunt. In universum namque de maximis rebus consulentes, indefinenter regi præsto sunt, in nonnullis tanquam participes imperii, in aliis reges, duces, et magistri (συνεργοὶ, ἱερηκῆλαι, διδάσκαλοι) existentes. Ex astrologia quoque et sacrorum inspectione, futura prædicunt, atque e sacrorum librorum scriptis res gestas cum utilitate conjunctas prælegunt. Non enim, ut apud Græcos, unus tantummodo vir, aut fœmina una, sacerdotio fungitur; sed complures sacrificia et honores Deûm obeuntes, liberis suis eandem vitæ rationem quasi per manus tradunt. Hi autem cunctis oneribus sunt immunes, et primos post regem honoris et potestatis gradus obtinent. *Diod. Sic. lib.* 1. *p.* 66.

There was no need to inveſt ſuch a body as this, with rich lands and ample territories, as it happened in Egypt. The generation or tribe being once ſet apart as ſacred, would, without further encouragement, be able, no doubt, in proceſs of time, to eſtabliſh themſelves a plentiful and growing fund, or religious land-bank. It was a ſufficient donative, to have had only that ſingle privilege from the law [21], "That they "might retain what they could get; and that it "might be lawful for their order, to receive ſuch "eſtates by voluntary contribution, as could never "afterwards be converted to other uſes.

Now, if, beſides the method of propagation by deſcent, other methods of increaſe were allowed in this order of men; if volunteers were alſo admitted at pleaſure, without any ſtint or confinement to a certain number, it is not difficult to imagine, how enormous the growth would be of ſuch a ſcience or profeſſion, thus recogniſed by magiſtrate, thus inveſted with lands and power, and thus entitled to whatever extent of riches or poſſeſſion could be acquired by practice and influence over the ſuperſtitious part of mankind.

There were, beſides, in Egypt ſome natural cauſes of ſuperſtition, beyond thoſe which were common to other regions. This nation might well abound in prodigies, when even their country and ſoil itſelf was a kind of prodigy in nature. Their ſolitary, idle life, whilſt ſhut up in their

[21] Infra, Miſc. 2. chap. 2. parag. 23.

houses by the regular inundations of the Nile, the unwholesome vapors arising from the new mud, and slimy relics of their river, exposed to the hot suns; their various meteors and phenomena; with the long vacancy they had to observe and comment on them; the necessity, withal, which, on the account of their navigation, and the measure of their yearly drowned lands, compelled them to promote the studies of astronomy and other sciences, of which their priesthood could make good advantages: all these may be reckoned perhaps as additional causes of the immense growth of superstition, and the enormous increase of the priesthood in this fertile land.

It will, however, as I conceive, be found unquestionably true, according to political arithmetic, in every nation whatsoever, "That the quantity "of Superstition, if I may so speak, will, in "proportion, nearly answer the number of priests, "diviners, soothsayers, prophets, or such who "gain their livelihood, or receive advantages by "officiating in religious affairs." For if these dealers are numerous, they will force a trade. And as the liberal hand of the magistrate can easily raise swarms of this kind, where they are already but in a moderate proportion; so where, through any other cause, the number of these increasing still by degrees, is suffered to grow beyond a certain measure, they will soon raise such a ferment in men's minds, as will at least compel the magistrate, however sensible of the grievance, to be cautious in proceeding to a reform.

We may obſerve in other neceſſary profeſſions, raiſed on the infirmities and defects of mankind, as, for inſtance, in law and phyſic, "That, with "the leaſt help from the bounty or beneficence of "the magiſtrate, the number of the profeſſors, "and the ſubject-matter of the profeſſion, is "found over and above increaſing." New difficulties are ſtarted; new ſubjects of contention; deeds and inſtruments of law grow more numerous and prolix; hypotheſes, methods, regimens, more various, and the materia medica more extenſive and abundant. What, in proceſs of time, muſt therefore naturally have happened in the caſe of religion, among the Egyptians, may eaſily be gathered.

Nor is it ſtrange that we ſhould find the property [24] and power of the Egyptian prieſthood, in ancient days, arrived to ſuch a height, as in a manner to have ſwallowed up the ſtate and monarchy. A worſe accident befel the Perſian crown, of which the hierarchy having once got abſolute poſſeſſion, had once a fair chance for the univerſal empire. Now, that the Perſian or Babylonian hierarchy was much after the model of the Egyptian, though different perhaps in rites and ceremonies, we may well judge; not only from the

[24] Which was *one third*. Βυλομένην δὲ τὴν ΊΣΙΝ, &c. *Sed cum* Iſis *lucro etiam ſacerdotes invitare vellet ad cultus iſtos*, (*nempe* Oſiridis, *mariti fato functi*), *tertiam eis terræ partem* εἰς προσόδους, *ad eorum miniſteria et ſacra munia, fruendam donavit.* Diod. Sic. lib. 1. A remarkable effect of female ſuperſtition! See alſo the paſſage of the ſame hiſtorian, cited above, p. 35. in the notes.

history of the Magi [25], but from what is recorded of ancient colonies sent long before by the Egyptians into Chaldea [26], and the adjacent countries. And whether the Ethiopian model was from that of Egypt, or the Egyptian from that of Ethiopia, for each nation had its pretence [27], we know by remarkable effects [28], that the Ethiopian empire was once in the same condition; the state having been wholly swallowed in the exorbitant power of their landed hierarchy. So true it is, "That

[25] See treatise 2. *viz. Sensus Communis*, vol. 1. p. 71. &c. *Herodotus* gives us the history at length in his third book.

[26] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 17. & 73.

[27] Herodot. Euterpe; et Diod. Sic. lib. 3.

[28] Κατὰ τὴν Μερόην οἱ περὶ τὰς τῶν Θεῶν θεραπείας τε καὶ τιμὰς διαλιβόντες ἱερεῖς, &c. *Qui in Meroe (urbe, et insula primaria Æthiopum) Deorum cultus et honores administrant sacerdotes, (ordo autem hic maxima pollet auctoritate), quandocumque ipsis in mentem venerit, misso ad regem nuncio, vita se illum abdicare jubent. Oraculis enim deorum hoc edici; nec fas esse ab ullo mortalium, quod Dii immortales jusserint, contemni.* ——— So much for their kings. For as to subjects, the manner was related a little before. *Unus ex lictoribus ad reum mittitur, signum mortis præferens; quo ille viso, domum abiens sibi mortem consciscit.* This the people of our days would call passive obedience and priest-craft, with a witness. But our historian proceeds ——— *Et per superiores quidem ætates, non armis aut vi coacti, sed meræ superstitionis ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας fascino, mente capti reges, sacerdotibus morem gesserunt: donec* Ergamenes, *Æthiopum rex*, (Ptolomæo *Secundo rerum potiente*), *Græcorum disciplinæ et philosophiæ particeps, mandata illa primus adspernari ausus fuit. Nam hic animo, qui regem deceret, sumto, cum militum manu in locum inaccessum, ubi aureum fuit templum Æthiopum, profectus; omnes illos sacrificos jugulavit, et abolito more pristino, sacra pro arbitrio suo instauravit.* Diod. Sic. lib. 3.

" dominion muſt naturally follow property." Nor is it poſſible, as I conceive, for any ſtate or monarchy to withſtand the incroachments of a growing hierarchy, founded on the model of theſe Egyptian and Aſiatic prieſthoods. No Superſtition will ever be wanting among the ignorant and vulgar, whilſt the able and crafty have a power to gain inheritances and poſſeſſions, by working on this human weakneſs. This is a fund, which, by theſe allowances, will prove inexhauſtible. New modes of worſhip, new miracles, new heroes, ſaints, divinities, which ſerve as new occaſions for ſacred Donatives, will be eaſily ſupplied on the part of the religious orders; whilſt the civil magiſtrate authorizes the accumulative Donation, and neither reſtrains the number or poſſeſſions of the ſacred body.

We find, withal, that in the early days of this ancient prieſtly nation, of whom we have been ſpeaking, it was thought expedient alſo, for the increaſe of devotion, to enlarge their ſyſtem of Deity; and, either by myſtical genealogy, conſecration, or canonization, to multiply their revealed objects of worſhip, and raiſe new perſonages of Divinity in their religion. They proceeded it ſeems, in proceſs of time, to increaſe the number of their Gods[39], ſo far that, at laſt, they became in a manner numberleſs. What odd ſhapes, ſpecies,

[39] Ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἔτεα ἐστὶ ἑπτακισχίλια καὶ μύρια ἐς Αμασιν βασιλεύσαντα, ἐπεὶ τε ἐκ τῶν ὀκτὼ Θεῶν οἱ δυώδεκα Θεοὶ ἐγένοντο. Herodot. lib. 2. § 43.

and forms of Deity were in latter times exhibited, is well known. Scarce an animal or plant but was adopted into some share of Divinity.

O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis Numina[10]! ———

No wonder, if by a nation so abounding in religious orders, spiritual conquests were sought in foreign countries, colonies led abroad[11], and missionaries detached on expeditions, in this prosperous service. It was thus a zealot-people, influenced of old by their very region and climate, and who, through a long tract of time, under a peculiar policy, had been raised both by art and nature to an immense growth in religious science and mystery, came by degrees to spread their variety of rites and ceremonies, their distinguishing marks of separate worships and secret communities, through the distant world, but chiefly through their neighbouring and dependent countries.

We understand from history, that even when the Egyptian state was least powerful in arms, it was still respected for its religion and mysteries.

[10] Juvenal. sat. 15. ℣ 10.

[11] Οἱ δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτιοι, *Ægyptii plurimas colonias ex Ægypto in orbem terrarum disseminatas fuisse dicunt. In Babylonem colonos deduxit Belus, qui Neptuni et Libyæ filius habetur: et posita ad Euphratem sede, instituit sacerdotes ad morem Ægyptiorum exemptos impensis et oneribus publicis, quos Babylonii vocant Chaldæos, qui, exemplo sacerdotum et physicorum, astrologorumque in Ægypto, observant stellas.* Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 17. Ibid. p. 73.

It drew ſtrangers from all parts to behold its wonders. And the fertility of its ſoil forced the adjacent people, and wandering nations who lived diſperſed in ſingle tribes, to viſit them, court their alliance, and ſolicit a trade and commerce with them, on whatſoever terms. The ſtrangers, no doubt, might well receive religious rites and doctrines from thoſe to whom they owed their maintenance and bread.

Before the time that Iſrael was conſtrained to go down to Egypt, and ſue for maintenance to theſe powerful dynaſties or lowland ſtates, the holy patriarch Abraham himſelf had been neceſſitated to this compliance on the ſame account [32]. He applied in the ſame manner to the Egyptian court He was at firſt well received, and handſomely preſented; but afterwards ill uſed, and out of favor with the prince; yet ſuffered to depart the kingdom, and retire with his effects; without any attempt of recalling him again by force, as it happened in the caſe of his poſterity. It is certain, that if this holy patriarch, who firſt inſtituted the ſacred rite of circumciſion within his own family or tribe, had no regard to any policy or religion of the Egyptians; yet he had formerly been a gueſt and inhabitant in Egypt, where hiſtorians [33] mention this to have been a

[32] Gen xii. 10. &c.

[33] Abramus, quando Ægyptum ingreſſus eſt, nondum circumciſus erat, neque per annos amplius viginti poſt reditum. —— Illius poſteri circumciſi ſunt, et ante introitum, et dum in Ægypto commorati ſunt: poſt exitum vero non ſunt circumciſi, quamdiu vixit

national rite, long ere he had received any divine notice or revelation concerning this affair[34]. Nor was it in religion merely that this reverend guest was said to have derived knowledge and learning from the Egyptians. It was from this parent-country of occult sciences that he was presumed, together with other wisdom, to have learned that of judicial astrology[35], as his successors did afterwards other prophetical and miraculous arts, proper to the Magi, or priesthood of this land.

One cannot indeed but observe, in after-times, the strange adherence and servile dependency of the whole Hebrew race on the Egyptian nation. It appears, that though they were of old abused in the person of their grand patriarch; though afterwards held in bondage, and treated as the most abject slaves; though twice expelled, or necessitated to save themselves by flight, out of this oppressive region; yet in the very instant of their last retreat, whilst they were yet on their march, conducted by visible divinity, supplied and fed from heaven,

Moses. —— *Fecit itaque Josue cultros lapideos, et circumcidit filios Israel in colle præputiorum. Factum Deus ratum habuit, dixitque, Hodie ἀφῆλον τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν Αἰγύπτου ἀφ' ὑμῶν, abstuli opprobrium Ægypti a vobis*, Josue, cap. 5. ver. 3. Tam Ægyptiis quam Judæis opprobrio erant incircumcisi. —— Apud Ægyptios circumcidendi ritus vetustissimus fuit, et ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, *ab ipso initio* institutus. Illi *nullorum aliorum hominum institutis uti volunt.* Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 91. Τὰ αἰδοῖα οἱ ἄλλοι μὲν ἐῶσι ὡς ἐγένοντο, πλὴν ὅσοι ἀπὸ τούτων ἔμαθον· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ περιτεμνονται. Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 36. Marshami chronicus canon, p. 72.

[34] Gen. xvii.

[35] Julius Firmicus, apud Marshamum, p. 452, 453.

and ſupported by continual miracles; they notwithſtanding inclined ſo ſtrongly to the manners, the religion, rites, diet, cuſtoms, laws, and conſtitutions of their tyrannical maſters, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty they could be with-held from returning again into the ſame ſubjection [16]. Nor could their great captains and legiſlators prevent their relapſing perpetually into the ſame worſhip to which they had been ſo long accuſtomed [17].

[16] It can ſcarce be ſaid in reality, from what appears in holy writ, that their retreat was *voluntary*. And for the hiſtorians of other nations, they have preſumed to aſſert, that this people was actually expelled *Egypt* on account of their *leproſy*; to which the *Jewiſh* laws appear to have ſo great a reference. Thus *Tacitus: Plurimi auctores conſentiunt, orta per Ægyptum tabe, quæ corpora fœdaret, regem Occhorim, adito Hammonis oraculo, remedium petentem, purgare regnum, et id genus hominum ut inviſum Deis, alias in terras avehere juſſum. Sic conquiſitum collectumque vulgus,— Moſem unum monuiſſe, &c.* Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 3. *Ægyptii, quum ſcabiem et vitiliginem paterentur, reſponſo moniti, eum (Moſem) cum ægris, ne peſtis ad plures ſerperet, terminis Ægypti pellunt. Dux igitur exulum factus, ſacra Ægyptiorum furto abſtulit: quæ repetentes armis Ægyptii, domum redire tempeſtatibus compulſi ſunt.* Juſtin. lib. 36. cap. 2. And in *Marsham* we find this remarkable citation from *Manetho: Amenophin regem affectaſſe* Θεῶν γενέσθαι θεατήν, ὥσπερ Ὡρ ἕις τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βεβασιλευκότων, *Deorum eſſe contemplatorem, ſicut Orum quendam regum priorum.* Cui reſponſum eſt, ὅτι δυνήσαιτο θεοὺς ἰδεῖν, *quod poſſet videre Deos, ſi regionem a leproſis et immundis hominibus purgaret.* Chronicus Canon, p. 52.

[17] See what is cited above (p. 43. in the notes from *Marsham*) of the *Jews* returning to circumciſion under *Joshua*, after a generation's intermiſſion; this being approved by God, for the reaſon given. " *That it was taking from them* the reproach *of the*

How far the divine Providence might have indulged the stubborn habit and stupid humor of this people, by giving them laws, as the prophet says[18], which he himself approved not, I have

" Egyptians, or what rendered them odious and impious in the " eyes of that people." Compare with this the passage concerning *Moses* himself, Exod. iv. 18. 25, 26. (together with Acts, vii. 30. 34.; where, in regard to the *Egyptians*, to whom he was now returning when fourscore years of age, he appears to have circumcised his children, and taken off this national *reproach*: *Zipporah* his wife, nevertheless, reproaching him with the bloodiness of the deed; to which she appears to have been a party only through necessity, and in fear rather of *her husband*, than of God.

[18] Ezek. xx. 25. Acts, xv. 10. Of these *Egyptian* institutions received amongst the *Jews*, see our *Spencer*. *Cum morum quorundam antiquorum toleratio vi magna polleret, ad Hebræorum animos Dei legi et cultui conciliandos, et a reformatione Mosaica invidiam omnem amoliretur; maxime conveniebat, ut Deus ritus aliquos antiquitus usitatos in sacrorum suorum numerum assumeret, et lex a Mose data speciem aliquam cultus olim recepti ferret.* ——— *Ita nempe nati factique erant Israelitæ, ex Ægypto recens egressi, quod Deo pene necesse esset (humanitus loqui fas sit) rituum aliquorum veterum usum iis indulgere, et illius instituta ad eorum morem et modulum accommodare. Nam populus erat a teneris Ægyptii moribus assuetus, et in iis multorum annorum usu confirmatus.* ——— *Hebræi, non tantum Ægypti moribus assueti, sed etiam refractarii fuerunt.* ——— *Quemadmodum cujusque regionis et terræ populo sua sunt ingenia, moresque proprii, ita natura gentem Hebræorum, præter cæteros orbis incolas, ingenio moroso, difficili, et ad infamiam usque pertinaci, finxit.* ——— *Cum itaque veteres Hebræi moribus essent asperis et efferatis adeo, populi conditio postulavit, ut Deos ritus aliquos usu veteri firmatos iis concederet, et* νομικὴν λαλρέιαν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἀσθενέια συμβαίνυσαν (*uti loquitur Theodoretus*) cultum legalem eorum infirmitati accommodatum *instituerit.* — *Hebræi superstitiosa gens erant, et omni pene literatura destituti.*

no intention to examine. This only I pretend to infer from what has been advanced, "That the "manners, opinions, rites, and cuſtoms of the "Egyptians, had, in the earlieſt times, and from "generation to generation, ſtrongly influenced "the Hebrew people, their gueſts and ſubjects, "and had undoubtedly gained a powerful aſcend-"ency over their natures."

How extravagant ſoever the multitude of the Egyptian ſuperſtitions may appear, it is certain that their doctrine and wiſdom were in high repute, ſince it is taken notice of in holy ſcripture, as no ſmall advantage even to Moſes himſelf, "That he "had imbibed the wiſdom of this nation[19]," which as is well known, lay chiefly among their prieſts and Magi.

Before the time that the great Hebrew legiſlator

Quam alte gentium ſuperſtitionibus immergebantur, e legibus intelligere licet, quæ populo tanquam remedia ſuperſtitionis imponebantur. Contumax autem bellua ſuperſtitio, ſi præſertim ab ignorantiæ tenebris novam ferociam et contumaciam hauſerit. Facile vero credi poteſt, Iſraelitas, nuper e ſervorum domo liberatos, artium humaniorum rudes fuiſſe, et vix quicquam ſupra lateres atque allium Ægypti ſapuiſſe. Quando itaque Deo jam negotium eſſet, cum populo tam barbaro, et ſuperſtitioni tam impenſe dedito; pene neceſſe fuit, ut aliquid eorum infirmitati daret, eoſque dolo quodam (non argumentis) ad ſeipſum alliceret. Nullum animal ſuperſtitioſo, rudi præcipue, moroſius eſt, aut majori arte tractandum. Spencerus de leg. Hebr. p. 627, 628, 629.

[19] (1.) Καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη Μωσῆς ΠΑΣΗ ΣΟΦΙΑ Αἰγυπτίων· ἦν δὲ δυνατὸς ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἐν ἔργοις. Act. Apoſt. vii. 22.

(2.) Exod. vii. 11. & 22.

(3. Ibid. viii 7.

(4.) Juſtin. lib. 36. cap. 2.

received his education among these sages, a Hebrew slave[40], who came a youth into the Egyptian court, had already grown so powerful in this kind of wisdom, as to outdo the chief diviners, prognosticators, and interpreters of Egypt. He raised himself to be chief minister to a prince, who, following his advice, obtained in a manner the whole property, and consequently the absolute dominion of that land. But to what height of power the established priesthood was arrived even at that time, may be conjectured hence, "That "the crown, to speak in a modern style, offered "not to meddle with the church-lands;" and that in this great revolution nothing was attempted, so much as by way of purchase or exchange[41], in prejudice of this landed clergy; the prime minister himself having joined his interest with theirs, and entered by marriage into their alliance[42]. And in this he was followed by the great founder of the Hebrew state. For he also[43] matched himself with the priesthood of some of the neighbouring nations, and traders into Egypt[44], long ere his establishment of the Hebrew religion and

[40] Gen. xxxix, &c. Minimus ætate inter fratres Joseph fuit, cujus excellens ingenium veriti fratres clam interceptum peregrinis mercatoribus vendiderunt. A quibus deportatus in Ægyptum, cum magicas ibi artes solerti ingenio percepisset, brevi ipsi regi percarus fuit. *Justin. lib.* 36. *cap.* 2.

[41] Gen. xlvii. 22. 26.

[42] Gen. xli. 45.

[43] Exod. iii. 1. and xviii. 1, &c.

[44] Such were the Midianites, Gen. xxxvii. 28. 36.

commonwealth.

commonwealth. Nor had he perfected his model, till he consulted the foreign priest his father-in-law[45], to whose advice he paid such remarkable deference.

But to resume the subject of our speculation, concerning the wide diffusion of the priestly science or function: It appears from what has been said, that notwithstanding the Egyptian priesthood was, by ancient establishment, hereditary, the skill of divining, soothsaying, and magic, was communicated to others besides their national sacred body; and that the wisdom of the Magicians, their power of miracles, their interpretation of dreams and visions, and their art of administering in divine affairs, were intrusted even to foreigners who resided amongst them.

It appears, withal, from these considerations, how apt the religious profession was to spread itself widely in this region of the world; and what efforts would naturally be made by the more necessitous of these unlimited professors, towards a fortune, or maintenance, for themselves and their successors.

Common arithmetic will, in this case, demonstrate to us, "that as the proportion of so many "laymen to each priest grew every day less and "less, so the wants and necessities of each priest "must grow more and more." The magistrate too, who, according to this Egyptian regulation, had resigned his title or share of right in sacred

[45] Exod. xviii. 17—24.

things, could no longer govern, as he pleased, in these affairs, or check the growing number of these professors. The spiritual generations were left to prey on others, and, like fish of prey, even on themselves, when destitute of other capture, and confined within too narrow limits. What method, therefore, was there left to heighten the Zeal of worshippers, and augment their liberality, but "to foment their emulation, prefer worship "to worship, faith to faith; and turn the spirit "of Enthusiasm to the side of sacred horror, reli-"gious antipathy, and mutual discord between "worshippers."

Thus provinces and nations were divided by the most contrary rites and customs which could be devised, in order to create the strongest aversion possible between creatures of a like species. For when all other animosities are allayed, and anger of the fiercest kind appeased, the religious hatred, we find, continues still, as it began, without provocation or voluntary offence. The presumed misbeliever and blasphemer, as one rejected and abhorred of God, is through a pious imitation abhorred by the adverse worshippers, whose enmity must naturally increase as his religious zeal increases.

From hence the opposition rose of temple against temple, proselyte against proselyte. The most zealous worship of one God, was best expressed, as they conceived, by the open defiance of another. Sir-names and titles of Divinity passed as watch-

words. He who had not the Symbol, nor could give the word, received the knock.

Down with him! Kill him! Merit heaven thereby;

as our poet has it, in his American tragedy[46].

Nor did Philosophy[47], when introduced into religion, extinguish, but rather inflame this zeal: as we may show perhaps in our following chapter more particularly; if we return again, as is likely, to this subject. For this, we perceive, is of a kind apt enough to grow upon our hands. We shall here, therefore, observe only what is obvious to every student in sacred antiquities, that from the contentious learning and sophistry of the ancient schools, when true science, philosophy, and arts were already deep in their decline[48], religious problems of a like contentious form sprang up; and certain doctrinal Tests were framed, by which religious parties were engaged and listed against one another, with more animosity than in any other cause or quarrel had been ever known. Thus religious massacres began, and were carried on; temples were demolished; holy utensils destroyed; the sacred pomp trodden under foot, insulted, and the insulters in their turn exposed to the same treatment, in their persons as well as in their

[46] Dryden, Indian Emperor, act 5. scene 2.

[47] Infra, Misc. 2. chap. 2. parag. 27.

[48] Vol. 1. p. 191. 301. in the notes; and infra, Misc. 2. chap. 2. parag. 23. &c.

worſhip. Thus madneſs and confuſion were brought upon the world, like that Chaos, which the poet miraculouſly deſcribes in the mouth of his mad hero: when even in celeſtial places, diſorder and blindneſs reigned: ——"No dawn of "light;"

——"*No glimpſe or ſtarry ſpark;*
"*But gods met gods, and juſtled in the dark*[49]."

CHAP. II.

Judgment of divines and grave authors concerning enthuſiaſm. —— *Reflections upon* ſcepticiſm. —— *A ſceptic Chriſtian.* —— *Judgment of the inſpired concerning their own inſpirations.* —— Knowledge *and* belief. —— *Hiſtory of religion reſumed.* —— Zeal *offenſive and defenſive.* —— *A church in danger.* —— *Perſecution.* —— *Policy of the church of* Rome.

WHAT I had to remark of my own concerning Enthuſiaſm, I have thus diſpatched: what others have remarked on the ſame ſubject, I may, as an apologiſt to another author, be allowed to cite; eſpecially if I take notice only of what has

[49] Oedipus of Dryden and Lee.

been dropped very naturally by ſome of our moſt approved authors, and ableſt divines.

It has been thought an odd kind of temerity, in our author, to aſſert, "That even Atheiſm itſelf "was not wholly exempt from enthuſiaſm; that "there have been in reality enthuſiaſtical Atheiſts; "and that even the ſpirit of martyrdom could, "upon occaſion, exert itſelf as well in this cauſe, "as in any other[1]." Now, beſides what has been intimated in the preceding chapter, and what in fact may be demonſtrated from the examples of Vaninus and other martyrs of a like principle, we may hear an excellent and learned divine[2], of higheſt authority at home, and fame abroad; who, after having deſcribed an enthuſiaſtical Atheiſt, and one atheiſtically inſpired, ſays of this very ſort of men, "That they are fanatics too; how-"ever that word ſeem to have a more peculiar "reſpect to ſomething of a Deity: all Atheiſts "being that blind goddeſs Nature's fanatics."

And again: "All Atheiſts" ſays he "are poſſeſ-"ſed with a certain kind of madneſs, that may "be called pneumatophobia[3], that makes them

[1] *Viz.* in his letter concerning enthuſiaſm, in vol. 1.

[2] Dr Cudworth's intellectual ſyſtem, p. 134.

[3] The good Doctor makes uſe here of a ſtroke of raillery againſt the over-frighted *anti-ſuperſtitious* gentlemen, with whom our author reaſons at large in his ſecond treatiſe, (*viz.* vol. 1. p. 71, 72, *&c.* and 75, 76, *&c.*). It is indeed the nature of *fear*, as of all other paſſions, when exceſſive, to defeat its own end, and prevent us in the execution of what we naturally propoſe to ourſelves as our advantage. Superſtition itſelf is but a certain

" have an irrational but desperate abhorrence from " spirits or incorporeal substances; they being acted " also, at the same time, with an hylomania, " whereby they madly doat upon matter, and " devoutly worship it, as the only Numen."

What the power of Ecstasy is, whether through melancholy, wine, love, or other natural causes another learned divine of our church *, in a discourse upon enthusiasm, sets forth; bringing an example from Aristotle, "Of a Syracusean poet, " who never versified so well, as when he was " in his distracted fits." But as to poets in general, compared with the religious enthusiasts, he says: There is this difference, "That a poet is

kind of *fear*, which possessing us strongly with the apprehended wrath or displeasure of *divine powers*, hinders us from judging what those *powers* are in themselves, or what conduct of ours may, with best reason, be thought suitable to such highly rational and superior natures. Now, if from the experience of many gross delusions of a superstitious kind, the course of this fear begins to turn; it is natural for it to run, with equal violence, a contrary way. The extreme passion for religious objects passes into an aversion, and a certain *horror* and *dread of imposture* causes as great a disturbance as even *imposture itself* had done before. In such a situation as this, the mind may easily be blinded; as well in one respect as in the other. It is plain, *both* these disorders carry something with them which discovers us to be in some manner beside our reason, and out of the right use of judgment and understanding. For how can we be said to *intrust* or *use* our reason, if in any case we fear to be convinced? How are we masters of ourselves, when we have acquired the habit of bringing horror, aversion, favor, fondness, or any other temper than that of mere *indifference* and *impartiality*, into the judgment of opinions, and search of truth?

* Dr More, § 11. 19, 20. and so on.

" an enthuſiaſt in jeſt; and an enthuſiaſt is a poet " in good earneſt."

" It is a ſtrong temptation, ſays the Doctor, " with a melancholiſt[5], when he feels a ſtorm of " devotion and zeal come upon him like a mighty " wind; his heart being full of affection, his head " pregnant with clear and ſenſible repreſentations, " and his mouth flowing and ſtreaming with fit " and powerful expreſſions, ſuch as would aſtoniſh " an ordinary auditory[6]; it is, I ſay, a ſhrewd " temptation to him, to think it the very ſpirit of " God that then moves ſupernaturally in him; " whereas all that exceſs of zeal and affection, and " fluency of words, is moſt palpably to be reſolv- " ed into the power of melancholy, which is a " kind of natural inebriation."

The learned Doctor, with much pains afterwards, and by the help of the Peripatetic philoſophy, explains this enthuſiaſtic inebriation, and ſhows in particular[7], "How the vapors and fumes of me- " lancholy partake of the nature of wine."

One might conjecture from hence, that the malicious oppoſers of early Chriſtianity were not

[5] Dr More, § 16.

[6] It appears from hence, that in the notion which this learned divine gives us of Enthuſiaſm, he comprehends the *ſocial* or *popular* genius of the paſſion; agreeably with what our author in his letter concerning *Enthuſiaſm* (p. 12, 13. 37, 38.) has ſaid of the influence and power of the *aſſembly* and *auditory* itſelf, and of the communicative force and rapid progreſs of this ecſtatic fervor, once kindled, and ſet in action.

[7] Dr More, § 20. 22, 23. 26.

unverſed in this philoſophy; when they ſophiſtically objected againſt the apparent force of the divine Spirit ſpeaking in diverſe languages, and attributed it "To the power of new wine[8]."

But our devout and zealous Doctor ſeems to go yet further. For, beſides what he ſays of the enthuſiaſtic power of fancy in Atheiſts[9], he calls melancholy a pertinacious and religious complexion[10]; and aſſerts, "That there is not any true "ſpiritual grace from God, but this mere natural "conſtitution, according to the ſeveral tempers "and workings of it, will not only reſemble, but "ſometimes ſeem to outſtrip." And after ſpeaking of prophetical Enthuſiaſm[11], and eſtabliſhing, as our author does[12], a legitimate and a baſtard ſort, he aſſerts and juſtifies the devotional Enthuſiaſm, as he calls it, of holy and ſincere ſouls[13], and aſcribes this alſo to Melancholy.

He allows, "That the ſoul may ſink ſo far into "phantaſms, as not to recover the uſe of her free "faculties; and that this enormous ſtrength of "imagination, does not only beget the belief of "mad internal apprehenſions, but is able to aſſure "us of the preſence of external objects which are "not." He adds, "That what cuſtom and "education do by degrees, diſtempered Fancy "may do in a ſhorter time." And ſpeaking of Ecſtacy and the power of Melancholy in ecſtatic fancies[14], he ſays, "That what the imagination

[8] Acts ii. 13. [9] Dr More, § 1. [10] § 15.
[11] § 30. and 57. [12] Vol. 1. p. 44 45.
[13] § 63. [14] § 28.

" then puts forth of herſelf, is as clear as broad
" day; and the perception of the ſoul at leaſt as
" ſtrong and vigorous, as at any time in beholding
" things awake.

From whence the Doctor infers, "That the
" ſtrength of perception is no ſure ground of truth."

Had any other than a reverend father of our church expreſſed himſelf in this manner, he muſt have been contented perhaps to bear a ſufficient charge of ſcepticiſm.

It was good fortune in my Lord Bacon's caſe, that he ſhould have eſcaped being called an Atheiſt, or a Sceptic, when ſpeaking in a ſolemn manner of the religious paſſion, the ground of Superſtition, or Enthuſiaſm, which he alſo terms a panic[11], he derives it from an imperfection in the creation, make, or natural conſtitution of man.

[11] Natura rerum *omnibus viventibus indidit metum et formidinem, vitæ atque eſſentiæ ſuæ conſervatricem, ac mala ingruentia vitantem et depellentem. Veruntamen eadem natura modum tenere neſciæ eſt, ſed timoribus ſalutaribus ſemper vanos et inanes admiſcet: adeo ut omnia (ſi intus conſpici darentur)* panicis terroribus *pleniſſimæ ſint, præſertim humana; et maxime omnium apud vulgum, qui ſuperſtitione (quæ vere nihil aliud quam* panicus terror *eſt), in immenſum laborat et agitatur; præcipue temporibus duris, et trepidis, et adverſis.* Franciſcus Bacon de augment. ſcient. lib. 2. c. 13.

The author of *the letter*, I dare ſay, would have expected no quarter from his critics, had he expreſſed himſelf as this celebrated author here quoted; who, by his *natura rerum*, can mean nothing leſs than the *univerſal diſpenſing nature*, erring blindly in the very firſt deſign, contrivance, or original frame of things; according to the opinion of *Epicurus* himſelf, whom this author, immediately after, cites with praiſe.

How far the author of the letter[16] differs from this author in his opinion both of the end and foundation of this passion, may appear from what has been said above. And, in general, from what we read in the other succeeding treatises of our author, we may venture to say of him with assurance, "That he is as little a Sceptic, according to the "vulgar sense of that word, as he is Epicurean "or Atheist." This may be proved sufficiently from his philosophy: and for any thing higher, it is what he no where presumes to treat; having forborn in particular to mention any holy mysteries of our religion, or sacred article of our belief.

As for what relates to revelation in general[17], if I mistake not our author's meaning, he professes to believe, as far as is possible for any one who himself had never experienced any divine communication, whether by dream, vision, apparition, or other supernatural operation; nor was ever present as eye-witness of any sign, prodigy, or miracle whatsoever. Many of these, he observes[18], are at this day pretendedly exhibited in the world, with an endeavour of giving them the perfect air and exact resemblance of those recorded in holy writ. He speaks indeed with contempt of the mockery of modern miracles and inspiration. And as to all pretences to things of this kind in our present age, he seems inclined to look upon them

[16] *Viz.* the letter concerning Enthusiasm, above, in vol. 1.

[17] Infra, Misc. 5. chap. 3. parag. 31.

[18] Vol. 1. p. 37, 38, *&c.*; and, The Moralists, p. 2. § 3. in vol. 2.

as no better than mere impoſture or deluſion. But for what is recorded of ages heretofore, he ſeems to reſign his judgment, with entire condeſcenſion, to his ſuperiors. He pretends not to frame any certain or poſitive opinion of his own, notwithſtanding his beſt ſearches into antiquity, and the nature of religious record and tradition: but on all occaſions ſubmits moſt willingly, and with full confidence and truſt, to the opinions by law eſtabliſhed[19]. And if this be not ſufficient to free him from the reproach of Scepticiſm, he muſt, for ought I ſee, be content to undergo it.

To ſay truth, I have often wondered to find ſuch a diſturbance raiſed about the ſimple name of Sceptic[20]. It is certain, that, in its original and plain ſignification, the word imports no more than barely, "That ſtate or frame of mind in "which every one remains, on every ſubject of "which he is not certain." He who is certain, or preſumes to ſay he knows, is in that particular, whether he be miſtaken or in the right, a Dogmatiſt. Between theſe two ſtates or ſituations of mind, there can be no medium. For he who ſays, "That he believes for certain, or is aſſured "of what he believes;" either ſpeaks ridiculouſly, or ſays in effect, "That he believes ſtrongly, "but is not ſure." So that whoever is not conſcious of revelation, nor has certain knowledge of

[19] Vol. 1. p. 309, &c.; and infra, Miſc. 2. chap. 3. parag. 19. Miſc. 5. chap. 1. parag. 6. and chap. 3. parag. 31.

[20] The Moraliſts, p. 1. § 2. & p. 2. § 3. in vol. 2, and infra, Miſc. 5. chap. 3. parag. 31, 32, &c.

any miracle or sign, can be no more than Sceptic in the case: and the best Christian in the world, who being destitute of the means of certainty, depends only on history and tradition for his belief in these particulars, is at best but a sceptic Christian. He has no more than a nicely critical, historical faith [21], subject to various speculations, and a thousand different criticisms of language and literature.

This he will naturally find to be the case, if he attempts to search into originals, in order to be his own judge, and proceed on the bottom of his own discernment and understanding. If, on the other hand, he is no critic, nor competently learned in these Originals; it is plain he can have no original judgment of his own; but must rely still on the opinion of those who have opportunity to examine such matters, and whom he takes to be the unbiassed and disinterested judges of these religious narratives. His faith is not in ancient facts or persons, nor in the ancient writ, or primitive recorders; nor in the successive collators or conservators of these records, for of these he is unable to take cognisance: but his confidence and trust must be in those modern men, or societies of men, to whom the public, or he himself, ascribes the judgment of these records, and commits the determination of sacred writ, and genuine story.

[21] Vol. 1. p. 126, 127.; and infra, Misc. 5. chap. 3. parag. 31, &c.

Let the perſon ſeem ever ſo poſitive or dogmatical in theſe high points of learning; he is yet in reality no dogmatiſt, nor can any way free himſelf from a certain kind of Scepticiſm. He muſt know himſelf ſtill capable of doubting: or if for fear of it, he ſtrives to baniſh every oppoſite thought and reſolves not ſo much as to deliberate on the caſe; this ſtill will not acquit him. So far are we from being able to be ſure when we have a mind, that indeed we can never be thoroughly ſure, but then only when we cannot help it, and find of neceſſity we muſt be ſo, whether we will or not. Even the higheſt implicit faith is in reality no more than a kind of paſſive Scepticiſm; "A reſolution to "examine, recollect, conſider, or hear as little "as poſſible to the prejudice of that belief, which "having once eſpouſed, we are ever afterwards "afraid to loſe."

If I might be allowed to imitate our author, in daring to touch now and then upon the characters of our divine worthies, I ſhould, upon this ſubject of Belief, obſerve how fair and generous the great Chriſtian convert and learned Apoſtle has ſhown himſelf in his ſacred writings. Notwithſtanding he had himſelf an original teſtimony and revelation from heaven, on which he grounded his converſion; notwithſtanding he had in his own perſon the experience of outward miracles and inward communications; he condeſcended ſtill, on many occaſions, to ſpeak ſceptically, and with ſome heſitation and reſerve, as to the certainty of theſe divine exhibitions. In his account of

ſome tranſactions of this kind, himſelf being the witneſs, and ſpeaking, as we may preſume, of his own perſon, and proper viſion, he ſays only, that "He knew a man: whether in the body or "out of it, he cannot tell. But ſuch a one caught "up to the third heaven he knew formerly," he ſays, "above fourteen years before his then "writing[22]." And when in another capacity the ſame inſpired writer, giving precepts to his diſciples, diſtinguiſhes what he writes by divine commiſſion, from what he delivers as his own judgment and private opinion[23], he condeſcends nevertheleſs to ſpeak as one no way poſitive, or maſter of any abſolute criterion in the caſe. And in ſeveral ſubſequent paſſages he expreſſes himſelf as under ſome kind of doubt how to judge or determine certainly[24], "Whether he writes by in-"ſpiration or otherwiſe. He only thinks he has "the Spirit. He is not ſure," nor would have us to depend on him as poſitive or certain in a matter of ſo nice diſcernment.

The holy founders and inſpired authors of our religion, required not, it ſeems, ſo ſtrict an aſſent, or ſuch implicit faith, in behalf of their original writings and revelations, as later uninſpired doctors, without the help of divine teſtimony, or any miracle on their ſide, have required in behalf of their own comments and interpretations. The earlieſt and worſt of heretics, it is ſaid, were thoſe called

[22] 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3.
[23] 1 Cor. vii. 10. 12.
[24] 1 Cor. vii. 40.

Gnoſtics, who took their name from an audacious pretence to certain knowledge and comprehenſion of the greateſt myſteries of faith. If the moſt dangerous ſtate of opinion was this dogmatical and preſumptuous ſort, the ſafeſt, in all likelihood, muſt be the ſceptical and modeſt.

There is nothing more evident than that our holy Religion, in its original conſtitution, was ſet ſo far apart from all philoſophy, or refined ſpeculation, that it ſeemed in a manner diametrically oppoſed to it. A man might have been not only a ſceptic in all the controverted points of the academies, or ſchools of learning, but even a perfect ſtranger to all of this kind, and yet complete in his religion, faith, and worſhip.

Among the polite Heathens of the ancient world, theſe different provinces of religion and philoſophy were upheld, we know, without the leaſt interfering with each other. If in ſome barbarous nations the philoſopher and prieſt were joined in one, it is obſervable that the myſteries, whatever they were, which ſprang from this extraordinary conjunction, were kept ſecret and undivulged. It was ſatisfaction enough to the prieſt-philoſopher, if the initiated party preſerved his reſpect and veneration for the tradition and worſhip of the temple, by complying in every reſpect with the requiſite performances and rites of worſhip. No account was afterwards taken of the philoſophic faith of the proſelyte or worſhipper. His opinions were left to himſelf, and he might philoſophize according to what foreign ſchool or ſect he fancied.

Even among the Jews themselves, the Sadducee, a materialist, and denier of the soul's immortality, was as well admitted as the Pharisee; who, from the schools of Pythagoras, Plato, or other later philosophers of Greece, had learned to reason upon immaterial substances, and the natural immortality of souls.

It is no astonishing reflection to observe, how fast the world declined in wit and sense[25], in manhood, reason, science, and in every art, when once the Roman empire had prevailed, and spread an universal tyranny and oppression over mankind. Even the Romans themselves, after the early sweets of one peaceful and long reign, began to groan under that yoke of which they had been themselves the imposers. How much more must other nations, and mighty cities, at a far distance, have abhorred this tyranny, and detested their common servitude, under a people who were themselves no better than mere slaves?

It may be looked upon, no doubt, as providential, that at this time, and in these cicumstances of the world, there should arise so high an expectation of a divine deliverer; and that from the eastern parts and confines of Judea, the opinion should spread itself of such a deliverer to come, with strength from heaven sufficient to break that empire, which no earthly power remaining could be thought sufficient to encounter. Nothing could have better disposed the generality of mankind, to

[25] Vol. 1. p. 190, &c.; and in the preceding chapter, p. 52.

receive

receive the evangelical advice; whilst they mistook the news, as many of the first Christians plainly did, and understood the promises of a Messias in this temporal sense, with respect to his second coming, and sudden reign here upon earth.

Superstition, in the mean while, could not but naturally prevail, as misery and ignorance increased[26]. The Roman emperors, as they grew more barbarous, grew so much the more superstitious. The lands and revenues, as well as the numbers of the Heathen priests, grew daily. And when the season came, that, by means of a convert emperor, the Heathen church-lands[27], with an

[26] Vol. 1. p. 114.; and below, parag. 6. from the end.

[27] How rich and vast these were, especially in the latter times of that empire, may be judged from what belonged to the single order of *the Vestals*, and what we read of the revenues belonging to the temples of *the Sun*, as in the time of the monster *Heliogabalus*, and of other donations by other emperors. But what may give us yet a greater idea of these riches, is, that in the latter Heathen times, which grew more and more superstitious, the restraining laws, or statutes of *mort-main*, by which men had formerly been with-held from giving away estates by *will*, or otherwise, *to religious uses*, were repealed; and the Heathen church left, in this manner, as a bottomless gulf, and devouring receptacle of land and treasure. *Senatus-consulto, et constitutionibus principum, heredes instituere concessum est Apollinem Didymæum, Dianam Ephesiam, matrem deorum, &c.* Ulpianus post Cod. Theodos. p. 92. apud Marsh.

This answers not amiss to the modern practice and expression of *making our soul our heir*; giving to *God* what has been taken sometimes with freedom enough from *man*; and conveying estates in such a manner in this world, as to make good interest of them in another. The reproach of the ancient *satirist* is at present out

increase of power, became transferred to the Christian clergy, it was no wonder, if, by such riches and authority, they were in no small measure influenced and corrupted; as may be gathered even from the accounts given us of these matters by themselves.

When, together with this, the schools of the ancient philosophers[28], which had been long in their decline, came now to be dissolved, and their sophistic teachers became ecclesiastical instructors; the unnatural union of religion and philosophy was completed, and the monstrous product of this match appeared soon in the world. The odd, exterior shapes of Deities, temples, and holy utensils, which by the Ægyptian sects[29] had been formerly set in battle against each other, were now metamorphosed into philosophical forms and phantoms; and, like flags and banners, displayed in hostile manner, and borne offensively, by one party against another. In former times, those barbarous nations above-mentioned were the sole warriors in these religious causes; but now the whole world became engaged; when, instead of storks and crocodiles, other ensigns were erected;

of doors. It is no affront to religion now-a-days to compute its profits. And a man might well be accounted dull, who, in our present age, should ask the question, *Dicite, pontifices, in sacro quid facit aurum?* Pers. sat. 2. See below, Misc. 2. chap. 2. parag. 6. from the end, and *ib.* par. 8. from the end, in the notes; and chap. 2. parag. 8. from the end.

[28] As above, p. 51.

[29] Supra, p. 34. 39. 40. 51. and vol. 1. p. 301. in the notes.

when ſophiſtical chimeras, crabbed notions, bombaſtic phraſes, ſoleciſms, abſurdities, and a thouſand monſters of a ſcholaſtic brood, were ſet on foot, and made the ſubject of vulgar animoſity and diſpute.

Here firſt began that ſpirit of bigotry which broke out in a more raging manner than had been ever known before, and was leſs capable of temper or moderation than any ſpecies, form, or mixture of religion in the ancient world. Myſteries, which were heretofore treated with profound reſpect, and lay unexpoſed to vulgar eyes, became public and proſtitute; being enforced with terrors, and urged with compulſion and violence, on the unfitted capacities and apprehenſions of mankind. The very Jewiſh traditions, and Cabaliſtic learning underwent this fate. That which was naturally the ſubject of profound ſpeculation and inquiry, was made the neceſſary ſubject of a ſtrict and abſolute aſſent. The allegorical, mythological account of ſacred things, was wholly inverted; liberty of judgment and expoſition taken away; no ground left for inquiry, ſearch, or meditation; no refuge from the dogmatical ſpirit let looſe. Every quarter was taken up; every portion prepoſſeſſed. All was reduced to article and propoſition [30].

Thus a ſort of philoſophical Enthuſiaſm overſpread the world. And Bigotry, a ſpecies of ſuper-

[30] *Infra*, Miſc. 5. chap. 3. par. 13. from the end, in the notes; *et ſupra*, p. 54.

ſtition [11] hardly known before, took place in men's affections, and armed them with a new jealouſy againſt each other. Barbarous terms and idioms were every day introduced, monſtrous definitions invented and impoſed; new ſchemes of faith erected from time to time; and hoſtilities, the fierceſt imaginable, exerciſed on theſe occaſions. So that the Enthuſiaſm or Zeal which was uſually ſhown by mankind in behalf of their particular worſhips, and which for the moſt part had been hitherto defenſive only, grew now to be univerſally of the offenſive kind.

It may be expected of me perhaps, that being fallen thus from remote antiquity to later periods, I ſhould ſpeak on this occaſion with more than ordinary exactneſs and regularity. It may be urged againſt me, that I talk here as at random, and without book; neglecting to produce my authorities, or continue my quotations, according to the profeſſed ſtyle and manner in which I began this preſent chapter. But as there are many greater privileges, by way of variation, interruption, and digreſſion, allowed to us writers of Miſcellany; and eſpecially to ſuch as are commentators upon other authors; I ſhall be content to remain myſterious in this reſpect, and explain myſelf no further than by a noted ſtory, which ſeems to ſuit our author's purpoſe, and the preſent argument.

[11] Let any one who conſiders diſtinctly the meaning and force of the word Bigotry, endeavour to render it in either of the ancient languages, and he will find how peculiar a paſſion it implies; and how different from the mere affection of *enthuſiaſm* or *ſuperſtition*.

It is obſervable from holy writ, that the ancient Epheſian worſhippers, however zealous or enthuſiaſtic they appeared, had only a defenſive kind of zeal in behalf of their temple [32], whenever they thought in earneſt it was brought in danger. In the tumult which happened in that city near the time of the holy apoſtle's retreat, we have a remarkable inſtance of what our author calls a religious panic [33]. As little bigots as the people were, and as far from any offenſive zeal, yet when their eſtabliſhed church came to be called in queſtion, we ſee in what a manner their zeal began to operate. " All with one voice, about " the ſpace of two hours, cried out, ſaying, Great " is Diana of the Epheſians [34]. " At the ſame time this aſſembly was ſo confuſed, that the greater part knew not wherefore they were come toge-

[32] The magnificence and beauty of that temple is well known to all who have formed any idea of the ancient *Grecian* arts and workmanship. It ſeems to me to be remarkable, in our learned and elegant apoſtle, that though an enemy to this mechanical ſpirit of religion in the *Epheſians*, yet, according to his known character, he accommodates himſelf to their humor, and the natural turn of their Enthuſiaſm; by writing to his converts in a kind of *architect* ſtyle, and almoſt with a perpetual alluſion to *building*, and to that *majeſty*, *order*, and *beauty*, of which their temple was a maſter-piece. Ἐποικοδομηθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποςόλων καὶ προφητῶν, ὄντος ἀκρογωνιαίου λίθου αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριςοῦ. Ἐν ᾧ πᾶσα ἡ οἰκοδομὴ συναρμολογουμένη αὔξει εἰς ναὸν ἅγιον ἐν Κυρίῳ· Ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς συνοικοδομεῖσθε εἰς κατοικητήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν πνεύματι. — Eph. ii. 20, 21, 22. And ſo chap. iii. 17, 18, &c. and chap. iv. 16. 29.

[33] Acts of the Apoſtles, chap. xix. ✝ 23.

[34] Ibid. ✝ 28 and 34.

ther[35]; and consequently could not understand why their church was in any danger. But the Enthusiasm was got up, and a panic fear for the church had struck the multitude. It ran into a popular rage, or epidemical phrensy, and was communicated, as our author expresses it[36], "by "aspect, or, as it were, by contact or sympa- "thy."

It must be confessed, that there was, besides these motives, a secret spring which forwarded this Enthusiasm. For certain parties concerned, men of craft, and strictly united in interest, had been secretly called together, and told, "Gentle- "men! or Sirs, ye know that by this mystery or "craft we have our wealth. Ye see, withal, and "have heard, that not only here at Ephesus, but "almost throughout all Asia, this Paul has per- "suaded and turned away many people, by "telling them, they are no real gods who are "figured or wrought with hands; so that not "only this our craft is in danger; but also the "temple itself[37]."

Nothing could be more moderate and wise, nothing more agreeable to that magisterial science or policy which our author recommends[38], than the behaviour of the town-clerk or recorder of the city, as he is represented on this occasion in holy writ. I must confess indeed, he went pretty

[35] Ibid. ℣ 32.
[36] Letter of enthusiasm, vol. 1. p. 12.
[37] Act. Apost. xix. 25, &c.
[38] Letter of enthusiasm, vol. 1. p. 13. &c.

far in the uſe of this moderating art. He ventured to aſſure the people, "that every one acquieſced "in their ancient worſhip of the great goddeſs, "and in their tradition of the image, which fell "down from Jupiter! that theſe were facts unde-"niable: and that the new ſect neither meant the "pulling down of their church, nor ſo much as "offered to blaſpheme or ſpeak amiſs of their "goddeſs."

This, no doubt, was ſtretching the point ſufficiently; as may be underſtood by the event, in after time. One might perhaps have ſuſpected this recorder to have been himſelf a diſſenter, or at leaſt an occaſional conformiſt, who could anſwer ſo roundly for the new ſect, and warrant the church in being ſecure of damage, and out of all danger for the future. Mean while the tumult was appeaſed: no harm befel the temple for that time. The new ſect acquieſced in what had been ſpoken on their behalf. They allowed the apology of the recorder. Accordingly the zeal of the Heathen church, which was only defenſive, gave way; and the new religioniſts were proſecuted no further.

Hitherto, it ſeems, the face of perſecution had not openly ſhown itſelf in the wide world. It was ſufficient ſecurity for every man, that he gave no diſturbance to what was publicly eſtabliſhed. But when offenſive zeal came to be diſcovered in one party, the reſt became in a manner neceſſitated to be aggreſſors in their turn. They who obſerved, or had once experienced this intolerating

ſpirit, could no longer tolerate on their part [19]. And they who had once exerted it over others,

[19] Thus the controverſy ſtood before the time of the Emperor *Julian*, when blood had been ſo freely drawn, and cruelties ſo frequently exchanged, not only between Chriſtian and Heathen, but between Chriſtian and Chriſtian, after the moſt barbarous manner. What the zeal was of many early Chriſtians againſt the idolatry of the old Heathen church, at that time the eſtablished one, may be comprehended by any perſon who is ever ſo slenderly verſed in the hiſtory of thoſe times. Nor can it be ſaid indeed of us moderns, that in the quality of *good Chriſtians*, as that character is generally underſtood, we are found either backward or ſcrupulous in aſſigning to perdition ſuch wretches as we pronounce *guilty of idolatry*. The name *idolater* is ſufficient excuſe for almoſt any kind of inſult againſt the perſon, and much more againſt the worship of ſuch a misbeliever. The very word *Chriſtian* is in common language uſed for *man*, in oppoſition to *brute-beaſt*, without leaving ſo much as a middle place for the poor *Heathen* or *Pagan*; who, as the greater beaſt of the two, is naturally doomed to maſſacre, and his gods and temples to fracture and demoliſhment. Nor are we maſters of this paſſion, even in our beſt humor. The *French* poet, we ſee, can with great ſucceſs, and general applauſe, exhibit this primitive zeal, even on the public ſtage: *Polyeucte*, act 2. ſcene. 6.

Ne perdons plus de temps, le ſacrifice eſt prêt.
Allons y du vray Dieu ſoutenir l'intérêt,
Allons fouler aux piés ce foudre ridicule
Dont arme un bois pourri ce peuple trop credule;
Allons en éclairer l'aveuglement fatal,
Allons briſer ces Dieux de pierre et de metal:
Abandonnons nos jours à cette ardeur celeſte,
Faiſons triompher Dieu; qu'il diſpoſe du reſte.

I should ſcarce have mentioned this, but that it came into my mind how ill a conſtruction ſome people have endeavoured to

could expect no better quarter for themſelves. So that nothing leſs than mutual extirpation became

make of what our author, ſtating the caſe of Heathen and Chriſtian perſecution, in his *letter of enthuſiaſm*, has ſaid concerning the Emperor *Julian*. It was no more indeed than had been ſaid of that virtuous and gallant Emperor by his greateſt enemies; even by thoſe who, to the ſhame of Chriſtianity, boaſted of his having been moſt inſolently affronted on all occaſions, and even treacherously aſſaſſinated by one of his Chriſtian ſoldiers. As for ſuch authors as theſe, should I cite them in their proper invective ſtyle and ſaint-like phraſe, they would make no very agreeable appearance, eſpecially in *miſcellanies* of the kind we have here undertaken. But a letter of that elegant and witty Emperor may not be improperly placed amongſt our citations, as a pattern of his humor and genius, as well as of his principle and ſentiments, on this occaſion. *Julian's epiſtles*, numb. 52.

JULIAN to the BOSTRENS.

"I should have thought, indeed, that the *Galilæan* leaders "would have eſteemed themſelves more indebted to me, than to "him who preceded me in the adminiſtration of the empire. For "in his time many of them ſuffered exile, perſecution, and im-"priſonment. Multitudes of thoſe whom in their religion they "term *heretics*, were put to the ſword: inſomuch that in *Samo-"ſata*, *Cyzicum*, *Paphlagonia*, *Bithynia*, *Galatia*, and many "other countries, whole towns were levelled with the earth. "The juſt reverſe of this has been obſerved in my time. The "exiles have been recalled, and the proſcribed reſtored to the "lawful poſſeſſion of their eſtates. But to that height of fury "and diſtraction are this people arrived, that being no longer "allowed the privilege to tyrannize over one another, or perſe-"cute either their own ſectaries, or the religious of the lawful "church, they ſwell with rage, and leave no ſtone unturned, "no opportunity unemployed, of raiſing tumult and ſedition. So

the aim, and almost open profession of each religious society.

" little regard have they to true piety; so little obedience to our " laws and constitutions, however humane and tolerating. For " still do we determine and steadily resolve, never to suffer one " of them to be drawn involuntarily to our altars. * * * As for " the mere people, indeed, they appear driven to these riots and " seditions by those amongst them whom they call Clerics; who " are now enraged to find themselves restrained in the use of " their former power and intemperate rule. * * * They can no " longer act the magistrate or civil judge, nor assume authority " to make people's *wills*, supplant relations, possess themselves " of other men's patrimonies, and by specious pretences transfer " *all* into their own possession. * * * For this reason I have " thought fit, by this *public Edict*, to forewarn the people of " this sort, that they raise no more commotions, nor gather in a " riotous manner about their seditious Clerics, in defiance of " the magistrate, who has been insulted, and in danger of being " stoned, by these incited rabbles. In their congregations, they " may, notwithstanding, assemble as they please, and crowd " about their leaders, performing worship, receiving doctrine, and " praying, according as they are by them taught and conducted: " but if with any tendency to sedition, let them beware how " they hearken, or give assent; and remember, it is at their peril, " if by these means they are secretly wrought up to mutiny and " insurrection. * * * Live, therefore, in peace and quietness! " neither spitefully opposing, or injuriously treating one another. " You misguided people of the new way, beware on your side! " And you of the ancient and established church, injure not your " neighbours and fellow-citizens, who are enthusiastically led " away in ignorance and mistake, rather than with design or " malice! It is by Discourse and Reason, not by *blows*, *insults*, " or *violence*, that men are to be informed of truth, and convinced of error. Again, therefore, and again, I enjoin and " charge the zealous followers of the true religion, no way to " injure, molest, or affront the *Galilæan* people."

In this extremity, it might well perhaps have been esteemed the happiest wish for mankind, that one of these contending parties of incompatible religionists should at last prevail over the rest; so as, by an universal and absolute power, to determine orthodoxy [40], and make that opinion effectually catholic, which in their particular judgement had the best right to that denomination. And thus, by force of massacre and desolation, peace in worship, and civil unity by help of the spiritual, might be presumed in a fair way of being restored to mankind.

I shall conclude with observing, how ably the Roman-Christian, and once catholic church, by the assistance of their converted emperors [41], proceeded in the establishment of their growing hierarchy. They considered wisely the various superstitions and enthusiasms of mankind, and proved the different kinds and force of each. All these seeming contrarieties of human passion they knew how to comprehend in their political model

Thus the generous and mild Emperor; whom we may indeed call *Heathen*, but not so justly *apostate:* since being, at different times of his youth, transferred to different schools or universities, and bred under tutors of each religion, as well *Heathen* as *Christian*; he happened, when of full age, to make his choice, though very unfortunately, in the former kind, and adhered to the ancient religion of his country and forefathers. See the same Emperor's letters to *Artabius*, numb. 7. and to *Hecebolus*, numb. 43. and to the people of *Alexandria*, numb. 10. See vol. 1. p. 21.

[40] Infra, Misc. 5. chap. 3. parag. penult.

[41] Vol. 1. p. 114. Supra, p. 65, 66.

and subservient system of divinity. They knew how to make advantage both from the high speculations of philosophy, and the grossest ideas of vulgar ignorance. They saw there was nothing more different than that enthusiasm which ran upon spirituals, according to the simpler views of the divine existence [42], and that which ran upon external proportions, magnificence of structures, ceremonies, processions, quires, and those other harmonies which captivate the eye and ear [43]. On this account they even added to this latter kind, and displayed religion in a yet more gorgeous habit of temples, statues, paintings, vestments, copes, mitres, purple, and the cathedral pomp. With these arms they could subdue the victorious Goths, and secure themselves an Attila [44], when their Cæsars failed them.

The truth is, it is but a vulgar species of enthusiasm, which is moved chiefly by show and ceremony, and wrought upon chalices and candles, robes, and figured dances. Yet this, we may

[42] Vol. 2. p. 223.

[43] Supra, p. 34.

[44] When this victorious ravager was in full march to *Rome*, St *Leon*, the then Pope, went out to meet him in solemn pomp. The *Goth* was struck with the appearance, obeyed the priest, and retired instantly with his whole army in a *panic* fear; alledging, that among the rest of the *pontifical* train, he had seen one of an extraordinary form, who threatened him with death, if he did not instantly retire. Of this important encounter there are in St *Peter's* church, in the *Vatican*, and elsewhere, at *Rome*, many fine sculptures, paintings, and representations, deservingly made, in honor of the miracle.

believe, was looked upon as no ſlight ingredient of devotion in thoſe days; ſince, at this hour, the manner is found to be of conſiderable efficacy with ſome of the devout amongſt ourſelves, who paſs the leaſt for ſuperſtitious, and are reckoned in the number of the polite world. This the wiſe hierarchy duly preponderating; but being ſatisfied withal, that there were other tempers and hearts which could not ſo eaſily be captivated by this exterior allurement, they aſſigned another part of religion to proſelytes of another character and complexion, who were allowed to proceed on a quite different bottom, by the inward way of contemplation, and divine love.

They are indeed ſo far from being jealous of mere enthuſiaſm, or the ecſtatic manner of devotion, that they allow their myſtics to write and preach in the moſt rapturous and ſeraphic ſtrains. They ſuffer them, in a manner, to ſuperſede all external worſhip, and triumph over outward forms; till the refined religioniſts proceed ſo far, as either expreſsly or ſeemingly to diſſuade the practice of the vulgar and eſtabliſhed ceremonial duties. And then, indeed, they check the ſuppoſed exorbitant enthuſiaſm, which would prove dangerous to their hierarchal ſtate [45].

If modern viſions, prophecies, and dreams, charms, miracles, exorciſms, and the reſt of this kind, be comprehended in that which we call

[45] Witneſs the caſe of *Molinos*, and of the pious, worthy, and ingenious Abbé *Fenelon*, now Archbishop of *Cambray*.

fanaticism or superstition, to this spirit they allow a full career; whilst to ingenious writers they afford the liberty, on the other side, in a civil manner, to call in question these spiritual feats performed in monasteries, or up and down by their mendicant or itinerant priests, and ghostly missionaries.

This is that ancient hierarchy, which, in respect of its first foundation, its policy, and the consistency of its whole frame and constitution, cannot but appear in some respect august and venerable, even in such as we do not usually esteem weak eyes. These are the spiritual conquerors, who, like the first Cæsars, from small beginnings, established the foundations of an almost universal monarchy. No wonder if at this day the immediate view of this hierarchal residence, the city and court of Rome, be found to have an extraordinary effect on foreigners of other latter churches. No wonder if the amazed surveyors are for the future so apt either to conceive the horridest aversion to all priestly government, or, on the contrary, to admire it, so far as even to wish a coalescence or reunion with this ancient mother-church.

In reality, the exercise of power, however arbitrary or despotic, seems less intolerable under such a spiritual sovereignty, so extensive, ancient, and of such a long succession, than under the petty tyrannies and mimical polities of some new pretenders. The former may even persecute [46] with a tolerable grace: the latter, who would willingly

[46] Infra, Misc. 2. chap. 3. parag. 30.

derive their authority from the former, and graft on their ſucceſſive right, muſt neceſſarily make a very awkward figure. And whilſt they ſtrive to give themſelves the ſame air of independency on the civil magiſtrate; whilſt they affect the ſame authority in government, the ſame grandeur, magnificence, and pomp in worſhip, they raiſe the higheſt ridicule, in the eyes of thoſe who have real diſcernment, and can diſtinguiſh originals from copies:

O *imitatores, ſervum pecus* [47]!

CHAP. III.

Of the force of humor in religion. — Support of our author's argument in his eſſay on the freedom of wit and raillery. — Zeal diſcuſſed. Spiritual ſurgeons: executioners: carvers. — Original of human ſacrifice. — Exhilaration of religion. — Various aſpects from outward cauſes.

THE celebrated wits of the miſcellanarian race, the eſſay-writers, caſual diſcourſers, reflection-coiners, meditation-founders, and others of the irregular kind of writers, may plead it as their peculiar advantage, "that they follow the variety "of Nature." And in ſuch a climate as ours, their plea, no doubt, may be very juſt. We

[47] Horat. lib. 1. epiſt. 19.

islanders, famed for other mutabilities, are particularly noted for the variableness and inconstancy of our weather. And if our taste in letters be found answerable to this temperature of our climate, it is certain a writer must, in our account, be the more valuable in his kind, as he can agreeably surprise his reader, by sudden changes and transports, from one extreme to another.

Were it not for the known prevalency of this relish, and the apparent deference paid to those geniuses who are said to elevate and surprise, the author of these Miscellanies might, in all probability, be afraid to entertain his reader with this multifarious, complex, and desultory kind of reading. It is certain, that if we consider the beginning and process of our present work, we shall find sufficient variation in it. From a professed levity, we are lapsed into a sort of gravity unsuitable to our manner of setting out. We have steered an adventurous course, and seem newly come out of a stormy and rough sea. It is time indeed we should enjoy a calm, and instead of expanding our sails before the swelling gusts, it befits us to retire under the lee-shore, and ply our oars in a smooth water.

It is the philosopher, the orator, or the poet, whom we may compare to some first-rate vessel, which launches out into the wide sea, and with a proud motion insults the encountering surges. We essay-writers are of the small-craft, or galley-kind. We move chiefly by starts and bounds, according as our motion is by frequent intervals renewed.

renewed. We have no great adventure in view, nor can tell certainly whither we are bound. We undertake no mighty voyage by help of ſtars or compaſs; but row from creek to creek, keep up a coaſting-trade, and are fitted only for fair weather and the ſummer-ſeaſon.

Happy therefore it is for us in particular, that having finiſhed our courſe of enthuſiaſm, and purſued our author into his ſecond treatiſe [11], we are now, at laſt, obliged to turn towards pleaſanter reflections, and have ſuch ſubjects in view as muſt naturally reduce us to a more familiar ſtyle. Wit and Humor, the profeſſed ſubjects of the treatiſe now before us, will hardly bear to be examined in ponderous ſentences and poiſed diſcourſe. We might now perhaps do beſt, to lay aſide the gravity of ſtrict argument, and reſume the way of chat; which, through averſion to a contrary formal manner, is generally reliſhed with more than ordinary ſatisfaction. For exceſs of phyſic, we know, has often made men hate the name of wholeſome. And an abundancy of forced inſtruction, and ſolemn counſel, may have made men full as averſe to any thing delivered with an air of high wiſdom and ſcience; eſpecially if it be ſo high as to be ſet above all human art of reaſoning, and even above reaſon itſelf, in the account of its ſublime diſpenſers.

However, ſince it may be objected to us by certain formaliſts of this ſort, "That we can prove

[11] *Viz.* Eſſay on the freedom of *wit* and *humor*, vol. 1.

" nothing duly without proving it in form ; " we may for once condescend to their demand, state our case formally, and divide our subject into parts, after the precise manner, and according to just rule and method.

Our purpose, therefore, being to defend an author who has been charged as too presumptuous for introducing the way of wit and humor into religious searches ; we shall endeavour to make appear,

1st, That wit and humor are corroborative of religion, and promotive of true faith.

2dly, That they are used as proper means of this kind by the holy founders of religion.

3dly, That, notwithstanding the dark complexion and sour humor of some religious teachers, we may be justly said to have in the main a witty and good-humored religion.

Among the earliest acquaintance of my youth, I remember, in particular, a club of three or four merry gentlemen, who had long kept company with one another, and were seldom separate in any party of pleasure or diversion. They happened once to be upon a travelling adventure, and came to a country where they were told for certain, they should find the worst entertainment, as well as the worst roads imaginable. One of the gentlemen, who seemed the least concerned for this disaster, said slightly, and without any seeming design, " That " the best expedient for them in this extremity " would be, to keep themselves in high humor, " and endeavour to commend every thing which

" the place afforded. " The other gentlemen immediately took the hint; but, as it happened, kept ſilence, paſſed the ſubject over, and took no further notice of what had been propoſed.

Being entered into the diſmal country, in which they proceeded without the leaſt complaint, it was remarkable, that if, by great chance, they came to any tolerable bit of road, or any ordinary proſpect, they failed not to ſay ſomething or other in its praiſe, and would light often on ſuch pleaſant fancies and repreſentations as made the objects in reality agreeable.

When the greateſt part of the day was thus ſpent, and our gentlemen arrived where they intended to take their quarters, the firſt of them who made trial of the fare, or taſted either glaſs or diſh, recommended it with ſuch an air of aſſurance, and in ſuch lively expreſſions of approbation, that the others came inſtantly over to his opinion, and confirmed his reliſh with many additional encomiums of their own.

Many ingenious reaſons were given for the ſeveral odd taſtes and looks of things, which were preſented to them at table. " Some meats were " wholeſome; others of a high taſte; others ac- " cording to the manner of eating in this or that " foreign country. " Every diſh had the flavor of ſome celebrated receipt in cookery; and the wine and other liquors had, in their turn, the advantage of being treated in the ſame elegant ſtrain. In ſhort, our gentlemen eat and drank heartily, and took up with their indifferent fare ſo well,

that it was apparent they had wrought upon themſelves to believe they were tolerably well ſerved.

Their ſervants, in the mean time, having laid no ſuch plot as this againſt themſelves, kept to their ſenſes, and ſtood it out, " That their maſters " had certainly loſt theirs. For how elſe could " they ſwallow ſo contentedly, and take all for " good which was ſet before them? "—

Had I to deal with a malicious reader, he might perhaps pretend to infer from this ſtory of my travelling friends, that I intended to repreſent it as an eaſy matter for people to perſuade themſelves into what opinion or belief they pleaſed. But it can never ſurely be thought, that men of true judgment and underſtanding ſhould ſet about ſuch a taſk as that of perverting their own judgment, and giving a wrong bias to their Reaſon. They muſt eaſily foreſee, that an attempt of this kind, ſhould it have the leaſt ſucceſs, would prove of far worſe conſequence to them than any perverſion of their taſte, appetite, or ordinary ſenſes.

I muſt confeſs it, however, to be my imagination, that where fit circumſtances concur, and many inviting occaſions offer from the ſide of men's intereſt, their humor, or their paſſion; it is no extraordinary caſe to ſee them enter into ſuch a plot as this againſt their own underſtandings, and endeavour, by all poſſible means, to perſuade both themſelves and others of what they think convenient and uſeful to believe.

If, in many particular caſes, where favor and

affection prevail, it be found so easy a thing with us to impose upon ourselves, it cannot surely be very hard to do it, where we take for granted our highest interest is concerned. Now, it is certainly no small interest or concern with men, to believe what is by authority established; since, in the case of disbelief, there can be no choice left, but either to live a hypocrite, or be esteemed profane. Even where men are left to themselves, and allowed the freedom of their choice, they are still forward enough in believing; and can officiously endeavour to persuade themselves of the truth of any flattering imposture.

Nor is it unusual to find men successful in this endeavour; as, among other instances, may appear by the many religious faiths or opinions, however preposterous or contradictory, which, age after age, we know to have been raised on the foundation of miracles and pretended commissions from heaven. These have been as generally espoused and passionately cherished, as the greatest truths, and most certain revelations. It is hardly to be supposed, that such combinations should be formed, and forgeries erected with such success and prevalency over the understandings of men, did not they themselves co-operate, of their own accord, towards the imposture, and show, "That, by a good "will and hearty desire of believing, they had in "reality a considerable hand in the deceit."

It is certain, that in a country where Faith has for a long time gone by inheritance, and opinions are entailed by law, there is little room left for

the vulgar to alter their perſuaſion, or deliberate on the choice of their religious belief. Whenſoever a government thinks fit to concern itſelf with men's opinions, and, by its abſolute authority, impoſe any particular belief, there is none perhaps ever ſo ridiculous or monſtrous, in which it needs doubt of having good ſucceſs. This we may ſee thoroughly effected in certain countries, by a ſteady policy, and ſound application of puniſhment and reward, with the aſſiſtance of particular courts erected to this end; peculiar methods of juſtice; peculiar magiſtrates and officers; proper inqueſts, and certain wholeſome ſeverities, not ſlightly adminiſtered, and played with, as certain triflers propoſe, but duly and properly enforced; as is abſolutely requiſite to this end of ſtrict conformity and unity in one and the ſame profeſſion, and manner of worſhip.

But ſhould it happen to be the Truth itſelf which was thus effectually propagated by the means we have deſcribed, the very nature of ſuch means can, however, allow but little honor to the propagators, and little merit to the diſciples and believers. It is certain, that Mahometiſm, Paganiſm, Judaiſm, or any other belief may ſtand, as well as the trueſt, upon this foundation. He who is now an orthodox Chriſtian, would, by virtue of ſuch a diſcipline, have been infallibly as true a Muſſulman; or as errant a heretic, had his birth happened in another place.

For this reaſon, there can be no rational belief but where compariſon is allowed, examination

permitted, and a ſincere toleration eſtabliſhed. And in this caſe, I will preſume to ſay, "That whatever "Belief is once eſpouſed or countenanced by "the magiſtrate, it will have a ſufficient advan- "tage, without any help from force or menaces "on one hand, or extraordinary favor and par- "tial treatment on the other." If the Belief be in any meaſure conſonant to truth and reaſon, it will find as much favor in the eyes of mankind as truth and reaſon need deſire. Whatever difficulties there may be in any particular ſpeculations or myſteries belonging to it, the better ſort of men will endeavour to paſs them over. They will believe, as our author ſays, [49] to the full ſtretch of their Reaſon, and add ſpurs to their Faith, in order to be the more ſociable, and conform the better with what their intereſt, in conjunction with their good humor, inclines them to receive as credible, and obſerve as their religious duty and devotional taſk.

Here it is that good humor will naturally take place, and the hoſpitable diſpoſition of our travelling friends above recited will eaſily transfer itſelf into religion, and operate in the ſame manner with reſpect to the eſtabliſhed faith, however miraculous or incomprehenſible, under a tolerating, mild, and gentle government.

Every one knows, indeed, that by Hereſy is underſtood a ſtubbornneſs in the will, not a defect merely in the underſtanding. On this account it

[49] Letter of enthuſiaſm, vol. 1. p. 29.

is impoſſible that an honeſt and good-humored man ſhould be a ſchiſmatic and heretic, and affect to ſeparate from his national worſhip on ſlight reaſon, or without ſevere provocation.

To be purſued by petty Inquiſitors; to be threatened with puniſhment, or penal laws, to be marked out as dangerous and ſuſpected; to be railed at in high places, with all the ſtudied wit and art of calumny; are indeed ſufficient provocations to ill humor, and may force people to divide, who at firſt had never any ſuch intention. But the virtue of good humor in religion is ſuch, that it can even reconcile perſons to a belief in which they were never bred, or to which they had conceived a former prejudice.

From theſe conſiderations we cannot but of courſe conclude, "That there is nothing ſo ridicu-
" lous in reſpect of policy, or ſo wrong and odious
" in reſpect of common humanity, as a moderate
" and half-way Perſecution." It only frets the ſore; it raiſes the ill humor of mankind; excites the keener ſpirits; moves indignation in beholders; and ſows the very ſeeds of ſchiſm in men's boſoms. A reſolute and bold-faced Perſecution leaves no time or ſcope for theſe engendering diſtempers, or gathering ill-humors. It does the work at once; by extirpation, baniſhment, or maſſacre; and, like a bold ſtroke in ſurgery, diſpatches by one ſhort amputation, what a bungling hand would make worſe and worſe, to the perpetual ſufferance and miſery of the patient.

If there be on earth a proper way to render the

moſt ſacred truth ſuſpected, it is by ſupporting it with threats, and pretending to terrify people into the belief of it. This is a ſort of daring mankind in a cauſe where they know themſelves ſuperior, and out of reach. The weakeſt mortal finds within himſelf, that though he may be outwitted and deluded, he can never be forced in what relates to his opinion or aſſent. And there are few men ſo ignorant of human nature, and of what they hold in common with their kind, as not to comprehend, "That where great vehemence is expreſſed "by any one in what relates ſolely to another, "it is ſeldom without ſome private intereſt of "his own."

In common matters of diſpute, the angry diſputant makes the beſt cauſe to appear the worſt. A clown once took a fancy to hear the Latin diſputes of doctors at a univerſity. He was aſked what pleaſure he could take in viewing ſuch combatants, when he could never know ſo much as which of the parties had the better. "For that matter," replied the clown, "I am not ſuch a fool neither, "but I can ſee who is the firſt that puts the other "into a paſſion." Nature herſelf dictated this leſſon to the clown, "That he who had the better "of the argument, would be eaſy and well-hu-"mored; but he who was unable to ſupport his "cauſe by reaſon, would naturally loſe his temper, "and grow violent."

Were two travellers agreed to tell their ſtory ſeparate in public; the one being a man of ſincerity, but poſitive and dogmatical; the other leſs

ſincere, but eaſy and good humored. Though it happened that the accounts of this latter gentleman were of the more miraculous ſort, they would yet ſooner gain belief, and be more favorably received by mankind, than the ſtrongly-aſſerted relations and vehement narratives of the other fierce defender of the truth.

That good humor is a chief cauſe of compliance, or acquieſcence in matters of faith, may be proved from the very ſpirit of thoſe whom we commonly call Critics. It is a known prevention againſt the gentlemen of this character, "That they are gener-" ally ill-humored and ſplenetic." The world will needs have it, that their ſpleen diſturbs them. And I muſt confeſs I think the world in general to be ſo far right in this conceit, that though all critics perhaps are not neceſſarily ſplenetic, all ſplenetic people, whether naturally ſuch, or made ſo by ill uſage, have a neceſſary propenſity to criticiſm and ſatire. When men are eaſy in themſelves, they let others remain ſo; and can readily comply with what ſeems plauſible, and is thought conducing to the quiet or good correſpondence of mankind. They ſtudy to raiſe no difficulties or doubts. And in religious affairs, it is ſeldom that they are known forward to entertain ill thoughts or ſurmiſes, whilſt they are unmoleſted. But if diſturbed by groundleſs arraignments and ſuſpicions, by unneceſſary invectives and bitter declamations, and by a contentious quarrelſome aſpect of religion, they naturally turn critics, and begin to queſtion every thing. The ſpirit of ſatire

rises with the ill mood: and the chief passion of men thus diseased and thrown out of good humor, is, to find fault, censure, unravel, confound, and leave nothing without exception and controversy.

These are the sceptics or scrupulists against whom there is such a clamor raised. It is evident, in the mean while, that the very clamor itself, joined with the usual menaces and show of force, is that which chiefly raises this sceptical spirit, and helps to multiply the number of these inquisitive and ill-humored Critics. Mere threats, without power of execution, are only exasperating and provocative. They who are masters of the carnal as well as spiritual weapon [50], may apply each at their pleasure, and in what proportion they think necessary. But where the magistrate resolves steadily to reserve his fasces for his own proper province, and keep the edge-tools and deadly instruments out of other hands, it is in vain for spiritual pretenders to take such magisterial airs. It can then only become them to brandish such arms, when they have strength enough to make the magistrate resign his office, and become provost or executioner in their service. —

Should any one who happens to read these lines, perceive in himself a rising animosity against the author, for asserting thus zealously the notion of a religious liberty, and mutual toleration; it is wished that he would maturely deliberate on the cause of his disturbance and ill-humor. Would he deign

[50] Supra, p. 79.

to look narrowly into himſelf, he would undoubtedly find that it is not Zeal for religion or the truth which moves him on this occaſion. For had he happened to be in a nation where he was no conformiſt, nor had any hope or expectation of obtaining the precedency for his own manner of worſhip, he would have found nothing prepoſterous in this our doctrine of indulgence. It is a fact indiſputable, that whatever ſect or religion is undermoſt, though it may have perſecuted at any time before; yet as ſoon as it begins to ſuffer perſecution in its turn, it recurs inſtantly to the principles of Moderation, and maintains this our plea for complacency, ſociableneſs, and good humor in religion. The myſtery therefore of this animoſity, or riſing indignation of my devout and zealous reader, is only this: "That being devoted to the "intereſt of a party already in poſſeſſion or expec-"tation of the temporal advantages annexed to a "particular belief, he fails not, as a zealous party-"man, to look with jealouſy on every unconform-"able opinion, and is ſure to juſtify thoſe means "which he thinks proper to prevent its growth." He knows, that if in matters of religion any one believes amiſs, it is at his own peril. If opinion damns, vice certainly does as much. Yet will our gentleman eaſily find, if he inquires the leaſt into himſelf, that he has no ſuch furious concern for the ſecurity of men's morals, nor any ſuch violent reſentment of their vices, when they are ſuch as no way incommode him. And from hence it will be eaſy for him to infer, "That the paſſion "he feels on this occaſion, is not from pure

"Zeal, but private Intereſt, and worldly emu-
"lation."

Come we now, as authentic rhetoricians expreſs themſelves, to our ſecond head: which we ſhould again ſubdivide into firſts and ſeconds, but that this manner of carving is of late days grown much out of faſhion.

It was the cuſtom of our anceſtors, perhaps as long ſince as the days of our hoſpitable king Arthur, to have nothing ſerved at table but what was entire and ſubſtantial. It was a whole boar, or ſolid ox which made the feaſt. The figure of the animal was preſerved entire, and the diſſection made in form by the appointed carver, a man of might as well as profound craft and notable dexterity; who was ſeen erect, with goodly mien and action, diſplaying heads and members, dividing according to art, and diſtributing his ſubject-matter into proper parts, ſuitable to the ſtomachs of thoſe he ſerved. In latter days it is become the faſhion to eat with leſs ceremony and method. Every one chuſes to carve for himſelf. The learned manner of diſſection is out of requeſt; and a certain method of cookery has been introduced by which the anatomical ſcience of the table is entirely ſet aſide. Ragouts and fricaſſees are the reigning diſhes, in which every thing is ſo diſmembered and thrown out of all order and form, that no part of the maſs can properly be divided, or diſtinguiſhed from another.

Faſhion is indeed a powerful miſtreſs, and by her ſingle authority has ſo far degraded the carving

method and uſe of ſolids, even in diſcourſe and writing, that our religious paſtors themſelves have many of them changed their manner of diſtributing to us their ſpiritual food. They have quitted their ſubſtantial ſervice, and uniform diviſion into parts and under parts; and in order to become faſhionable, they have run into the more ſavoury way of learned ragout and medley. It is the unbred ruſtic orator alone who preſents his clowniſh audience with a diviſible diſcourſe. The elegant court-divine exhorts in Miſcellany, and is aſhamed to bring his two's and three's before a faſhionable aſſembly.

Should I therefore, as a mere miſcellanarian or eſſay-writer, forgetting what I had premiſed, be found to drop a head, and loſe the connecting thread of my preſent diſcourſe, the caſe perhaps would not be ſo prepoſterous. For fear, however, leſt I ſhould be charged for being worſe than my word, I ſhall endeavour to ſatisfy my reader, by purſuing my method propoſed: if peradventure he can call to mind, what that method was; or if he cannot, the matter is not ſo very important, but he may ſafely purſue his reading, without further trouble.

To proceed therefore: Whatever means or methods may be employed at any time in maintaining or propagating a religious belief already current and eſtabliſhed, it is evident that the firſt beginnings muſt have been founded in that natural complacency and good humor, which inclines to truſt and confidence in mankind. Terrors alone, though accompanied with miracles and prodigies of whatever kind, are not capable of raiſing that

ſincere faith and abſolute reliance which is required in favor of the divinely-authoriſed inſtructor, and ſpiritual chief. The affection and love which procures a true adherence to the new religious foundation, muſt depend either on a real or counterfeit Goodneſs in the religious founder[51]. Whatever ambitious ſpirit may inſpire him; whatever ſavage zeal or perſecuting principle may lie in reſerve ready to diſcloſe itſelf when authority and power is once obtained; the firſt ſcene of doctrine, however, fails not to preſent us with the agreeable views of joy, love, meekneſs, gentleneſs, and moderation.

In this reſpect Religion, according to the common practice in many ſects, may be compared to that ſort of courtſhip of which the fair ſex are known often to complain. In the beginning of an amour, when theſe innocent charmers are firſt accoſted, they hear of nothing but tender vows, ſubmiſſion, ſervice, love. But ſoon afterwards, when won by this appearance of gentleneſs and humility, they have reſigned themſelves, and are no longer their own, they hear a different note, and are taught to underſtand ſubmiſſion and ſervice in a ſenſe they little expected. Charity and brotherly love are very engaging ſounds: but who would dream that out of abundant charity and brotherly love ſhould come ſteel, fire, gibbets, rods, and ſuch a ſound and hearty application of theſe remedies as ſhould at once advance the worldly great-

[51] Vol. 1. p. 79. and vol. 2. p. 277.

nefs of religious paftors, and the particular intereft of private fouls, for which they are fo charitably concerned?

It has been obferved by our author [52], "That the "Jews were naturally a very cloudy people." That they had certainly in religion, as in every thing elfe, the leaft good humor of any people in the world, is very apparent. Had it been otherwife, their holy legiflator and deliverer, who was declared the meekeft man on earth [53], and who for many years together, had, by the moft popular and kind acts, endeavoured to gain their love and affection, would, in all probability, have treated them afterwards with more fweetnefs, and been able, with lefs blood and maffacre [54], to retain them in their religious duty. This, however, we may obferve, that if the firft Jewifh princes, and celebrated kings, acted in reality according to the inftitutions of their great founder, not only Mufic, but even Play and Dance, were of holy appointment, and divine right. The firft monarch of this nation, though of a melancholy complexion, joined mufic with his fpiritual exercifes, and even ufed it as a remedy under that dark Enthufiafm or evil fpirit [55]; which, how far it might refemble that of prophecy, experienced by him even after his apoftafy [56], our author pretends not to determine [57].

[52] Letter of enthufiafm, vol. 1. p. 24.; and above, p. 46, 47.
[53] Numb. xii. 3. [54] Exod. xxxii. 27. &c.; Numb. xvi. 41.
[55] 1 Sam. xviii. 10. & xix. 9. [56] Ibid. ℣ 23, 24.
[57] Letter of enthufiafm, vol. 1. p. 38.

It

It is certain, that the ſucceſſor of this prince was a hearty eſpouſer of the merry devotion, and, by his example, has ſhown it to have been fundamental in the religious conſtitution of his people [58]. The famous entry or high dance performed by him, after ſo conſpicuous a manner, in the proceſſion of the ſacred coffer, ſhows that he was not aſhamed of expreſſing any ecſtaſy of joy, or playſome humor [59], which was practiſed by the meaneſt of the prieſts or people on ſuch an occaſion [60].

Beſides the many ſongs and hymns diſperſed in holy writ, the book of Pſalms itſelf, Job, Proverbs, Canticles, and other entire volumes of the ſacred collection, which are plainly poetry, and full of humorous images, and jocular wit, may ſufficiently ſhow how readily the inſpired authors had

[58] 2 Sam. vi. 5. 14. 16. [59] Ibid. ℣ 22.

[60] Though this *dance* was not performed quite naked, the dancers, it ſeems, were ſo slightly clothed, that, in reſpect of modeſty, they might as well have wore nothing; their nakedneſs appearing ſtill by means of their high caperings, leaps, and violent attitudes, which were proper to this dance. The reader, if he be curious, may examine what relation this religious ecſtaſy and naked dance had to the *naked* and *proceſſional prophecy*, (1 Sam. xix. 23. and 24.), where prince, prieſt, and people prophesied in conjunction; the prince himſelf being both of the *itinerant* and *naked* party. It appears, that even before he was yet advanced to the throne, he had been ſeized with this prophesying ſpirit-*errant*, *proceſſional* and *ſaltant*, attended, as we find, with a ſort of martial dance, performed in troops or companies, with pipe and tabret accompanying the march, together with pſaltery, harp, cornets, timbrels, and other variety of muſic. See 1 Sam. x. 5. and xix. 23, 24. *&c.*; and 2 Sam. vi. 5.; and above, *Letter of Enthuſiaſm*, vol. 1. p. 38.

recourse to Humor and Diversion, as a proper means to promote religion, and strengthen the established faith.

When the affairs of the Jewish nation grew desperate, and every thing seemed tending to a total conquest and captivity, the style of their holy writers and prophets might well vary from that of earlier days, in the rise and vigor of their common-wealth, or during the first splendor of their monarchy, when the princes themselves prophesied, and potent kings were of the number of the sacred penmen. This still we may be assured of, that, however, melancholy or ill-humored any of the prophets may appear at any time, it was not that kind of spirit which God was wont to encourage in them. Witness the case of the prophet Jonah, whose character is so naturally described in holy writ.

Pettish as this prophet was, unlike a man, and resembling rather some refractory boyish pupil, it may be said, that God, as a kind tutor, was pleased to humor him, bear with his anger, and, in a lusory manner, expose his childish frowardness, and show him to himself.

"Arise," said his gracious Lord, "and go to "Nineveh [61]." "No such matter," says our prophet to himself; but away over-sea for Tarshish. He fairly plays the truant, like an arch schoolboy; hoping to hide out of the way. But his tutor had good eyes, and a long reach. He

[61] Jonah, chap. i. &c.

overtook him at ſea, where a ſtorm was ready prepared for his exerciſe, and a fiſh's belly for his lodging. The renegade found himſelf in harder durance than any at land. He was ſufficiently mortified; he grew good, prayed, moralized, and ſpoke mightily againſt lying vanities [62].

Again, [63] the prophet is taken into favor, and bid go to Nineveh, to foretel deſtruction. He foretells it. Nineveh repents; God pardons; and the prophet is angry.

" [64] Lord! — Did I not foreſee what this would
" come to? Was not this my ſaying, when I was
" ſafe and quiet at home? ——What elſe ſhould
" I have run away for? ——As if I knew not
" how little dependence there was on the reſolu-
" tion of thoſe who are always ſo ready to for-
" give, and repent of what they have determined.
" —— No —— Strike me dead! —— Take
" my life this moment. It is better for me. ——
" If ever I prophesy again." ******

" And doſt thou well then to be thus angry,
" Jonah! Conſider with thyſelf! —— Come!
" —— Since thou wilt needs retire out of the city,
" to ſee at a diſtance what will come of it; here,
" take a better fence than thy own booth againſt
" the hot ſun which incommodes thee. Take this
" tall plant, as a ſhady covering for thy head.

[62] Ibid. ii. 8.
[63] Ibid. iii. 1. &c.
[64] Ibid. iv. 1, 2, 3.

"Cool thyself, and be delivered from thy "grief [65]."

When the Almighty had shown this indulgence to the prophet, he grew better-humored, and passed a tolerable night. But the next morning the worm came, and an east-wind: the arbor was nipped; the sun shone vehemently, and the prophet's head was heated as before. Presently the ill mood returns, and the prophet is at the old pass.

"Better die, than live at this rate.——Death, "death, alone can satisfy me. Let me hear no "longer of living.——No!——It is in vain "to talk of it [66]."—

Again, God expostulates; but is taken up short, and answered churlishly by the testy prophet.

"Angry he is; angry he ought to be, and angry "he will be, to his death [67]." But the Almighty, with the utmost pity towards him, in this melancholy and froward temper, lays open the folly of it; and exhorts to mildness and good humor, in the most tender manner, and under the most familiar and pleasant images; whilst he shows expressly more regard and tenderness to the very cattle and brute-beast, than the prophet to his own human kind, and to those very disciples whom by his preaching he had converted [68].

In the ancienter parts of sacred story, where the beginning of things, and origin of human race are

[65] Jonah, iv. 4, 5, 6.
[66] Ibid. ℣ 7, 8.
[67] Ibid. iv. 9.
[68] See the last verse of this prophet.

represented to us, there are sufficient instances of this familiarity of style, this popular pleasant intercourse, and manner of dialogue between God and man[69]; I might add even between man and beast[70]; and, what is still more extraordinary, between God and Satan[71].

Whatsoever of this kind may be allegorically understood, or in the way of Parable or Fable; this I am sure of, that the accounts, descriptions, narrations, expressions, and phrases, are in themselves many times exceedingly pleasant, entertaining, and facetious. But fearing lest I might be misinterpreted, should I offer to set these passages in their proper light, which, however, has been performed by undoubted good Christians, and most learned and eminent divines of our own church[72], I forbear to go any further into the examination or criticism of this sort.

As for our Saviour's style, it is not more vehement and majestic in his gravest animadversions or declamatory discourses, than it is sharp, humorous, and witty in his repartees, reflections, fabulous narrations, or parables, similes, comparisons, and other methods of milder censure and reproof. His exhortations to his disciples, his particular designation of their manners; the pleasant images under which he often couches his morals and prudential

[69] Genesis iii. 9. *&c.*

[70] Numb. xxii. 28. *&c.*

[71] (1.) Job i, ii.
(2.) 2 Chron. xviii. 18, 19. *&c.*

[72] See Burnet, *Archæol. cap.* 7. *p.* 280. *&c.*

rules; even his miracles themselves, especially the first he ever wrought [73], carry with them a certain festivity, alacrity, and good humor, so remarkable, that I should look upon it as impossible not to be moved in a pleasant manner at their recital.

Now, if what I have here asserted in behalf of pleasantry and humor be found just and real in respect of the Jewish and Christian religions, I doubt not it will be yielded to me, in respect of the ancient Heathen establishments, that the highest care was taken by their original founders, and following reformers, to exhilarate religion, and correct that melancholy and gloominess to which it is subject, according to those different modifications of Enthusiasm above specified [74].

Our author, as I take it, has elsewhere shown [75], that these founders were real musicians, and improvers of poetry, music, and the entertaining arts; which they in a manner incorporated with religion: not without good reason, as I am apt to imagine. For to me it plainly appears, that in the early times of all religions, when nations were yet barbarous and savage, there was ever an aptness or tendency towards the dark part of superstition, which, among many other horrors, produced that of human sacrifice. Something of this nature might

[73] St John ii. 11.
[74] Above, chap. i. 2.
[75] Vol. I. p. 205, 206.

possibly be deduced even from holy writ [76]. And in other histories we are informed of it more at large.

Every one knows how great a part of the old Heathen worship consisted in play, poetry, and dance. And though some of the more melancholy and superstitious votaries might approach the shrines of their Divinities with mean grimaces, crouchings, and other fawning actions, betraying the low thoughts they had of the divine nature; yet it is well known, that in those times the illiberal sycophantic [77] manner of devotion was by the wiser sort contemned, and oft suspected, as knavish and indirect [78].

[76] Gen. xxii. 1, 2, &c.; and Judg. xi. 30, 31, &c.

These places relating to *Abraham* and *Jephthah*, are cited only with respect to the notion which these primitive warriors may be said to have entertained concerning this horrid enormity, so common among the inhabitants of *Palestine* and other neighbouring nations. It appears, that even the elder of these *Hebrew* princes was under no extreme surprise on this trying revelation. Nor did he think of expostulating in the least on this occasion; when, at another time, he could be so importunate for the pardon of an inhospitable, murderous, impious and incestuous city, *Gen.* xviii. 23. &c. See *Marsham's* citations, p. 76, 77. *Ex istis satius est colligere hanc* Abrahami *tentationem non fuisse* κεκαινοργημένην πράξιν, *actionem innovatam, non recens excogitatam, sed ad pristinos Cananæorum mores designatam.* See the learned *Capel's* dissertation upon *Jephthah:* " *Ex hujus voti lege* (Lev. xxvii. 28, 29.) Jephte " *filiam omnino videtur immolasse, hoc est, morte affecisse*, et ex- " ecutus est in ea votum quod ipse voverat, *Jud.* xi. 39."

[77] See vol. 1. p. 28.

[78] —— *Non tu prece poscis* emaci, &c.

Haud cuivis promptum est, murmurque humilesque *susurros*,

How different an air and aspect the good and virtuous were presumed to carry with them to the temple, let Plutarch singly, instead of many others, witness, in his excellent treatise of superstition [79]; and in another against the Epicurean

Tollere de templis. ———
De Jove *quid sentis? Estne, ut præponere curet*
Hunc cuinam? ———
——— *Qua tu* mercede *Deorum*
Emeris auriculas? ———
O curvæ in terris animæ, et cœlestium inanes?
Quid juvat hoc, templis nostros *immittere* mores,
Et bona Diis ex huc scelerata ducere pulpa?

Pers. sat. 2.

Non est meum, si mugiat Africis
Malus procellis, ad miseras preces
Decurrere. ———

Hor. lib. 3. od. 29.

See vol. 1. p. 114.; and above, p. 66. in the notes.

[79] Ὦ βάρβαρ' ἐξευρόντες Ἕλληνες καὶ τῇ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ, πηλώσεις, καὶ βορβορώσεις, σαββατισμοὺς, ῥίψεις ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αἰσχρὰς, προσκαθίσεις, ἀλλοκότους προσκυνήσεις, &c. "O wretched *Greeks!*" (*say he, speaking to his then declining countrymen*), "who in a way of "superstition run so easily into the relish of barbarous nations, "and bring into religion that frightful mien of sordid and vilifying devotion, ill-favored humiliation and contrition, abject "looks and countenances, consternations, prostrations, disfigurations, and, in the act of worship, distortions, constrained and "painful postures of the body, wry faces, beggarly tones, mumpings, grimaces, cringings, and the rest of this kind.— A shame "indeed to us *Grecians!*—For to us, we know, it is prescribed "from of old by our peculiar laws concerning music, and the "public *choruses*, that we should perform in the handsomest "manner, and with a *just* and *manly countenance*, avoiding those "grimaces and contortions of which some singers contract a habit.

Atheiſm, where it will plainly enough appear what a ſhare Good Humor had in that which

" And shall we not in the more immediate worship of the Deity " preſerve this *liberal air* and *manly appearance?* Or, on the con- " trary, whilſt we are nicely obſervant of other forms and de- " cencies in the temple, shall we neglect this greater decency " in voice, words, and manners? and with vile cries, fawnings, " and proſtitute behaviour, betray the natural dignity and majeſty " of that divine religion and national worship delivered down " to us by our forefathers, and purged from every thing of a " barbarous and ſavage kind?"

What *Plutarch* mentions here, of the *juſt countenance* or *liberal air*, the σῶμα δίκαιον, of the muſical performer, is agreeably illuſtrated in his *Alcibiades*. It was that heroic youth, who, as appears by this hiſtorian, firſt gave occaſion to the *Athenians* of the higher rank wholly to abandon the uſe of *flutes*; which had before been highly in favor with them. The reaſon given, " was *the illi-* " *beral air* which attended ſuch performers, and *the unmanly disfigu-* " *ration* of their looks and countenance, which this piping-work " produced." As for the real figure or plight of the *ſuperſtitious mind*, our author thus deſcribes it. " Gladly would the poor com- " fortleſs mind, by whiles, keep feſtival and rejoice: but ſuch as its " religion is, there can be no free mirth or joy belonging to it. " Public thankſgivings are but private mournings. Sighs and ſor- " rows accompany its praiſes. Fears and horrors corrupt its beſt " affections. When it aſſumes the outward ornaments of beſt ap- " parel for the temple, it even then ſtrikes melancholy, and appears " in paleneſs and ghaſtly looks. While it worships, it trembles. " It ſends up vows in faint and feeble voices, with eager hopes, de- " ſires, and paſſions, diſcoverable in the whole diſorder of the out- " ward frame: and, in the main, it evinces plainly by practice, " that the notion of *Pythagoras* was but vain, who dared aſſert, *that* " *we were then in the beſt ſtate, and carried our moſt becoming looks* " *with us, when we approached the gods.* For then, above all other " ſeaſons, are the ſuperſtitious found in the moſt abject miſerable " ſtate of mind, and with the meaneſt preſence and behaviour; " approaching the ſacred shrines of the divine powers in the ſame " manner as they would the dens of bears or lions, the caves of ba-

the politer ancients esteemed as piety and true religion [80].

" silisks or dragons, or other hideous recesses of wild beasts or ra-
" ging monsters. To me therefore it appears wonderful, that we
" should arraign Atheism as impious; whilst superstition escapes the
" charge. Shall he who holds there are no divine powers, be e-
" steemed impious; and shall not he be esteemed far more impious,
" who holds the divine beings such in their nature as the superfti-
" tious believe and represent? For my own part, I had rather men
" should say of me," &c. See Vol. 1. p. 34. in the notes. Nothing can be more remarkable than what our author says again, a little below. " The *Atheist* believes there is no Deity; the *reli-*
" *gionist*, or superstitious believer, wishes there were none. If he
" believes, it is against his will: mistrust he dares not, nor call his
" thought in question. But could he with security, at once, throw
" off that oppressive fear, which like the rock of *Tantalus* im-
" pends, and presses over him; he would with equal joy spurn his
" enslaving thought, and embrace the Atheist's state and opinion
" as his happiest deliverance. Atheists are free of superstition; but
" the superstitious are ever *willing Atheists*, though impotent in
" their thought, and unable to believe of the Divine Being as they
" gladly would. Νυνὶ δὲ τῷ μὲν Αθέῳ δεισιδαιμονίας οὐδὲν μέτεστιν
" ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων τῇ προαιρέσει ἄθεος ὤν, ἀσθενέστερός ἐστιν ἢ τοῦ
" δοξάζειν περὶ θεῶν ὃ βούλεται." See vol. 1. p. 28. 29. 34. 35.

[80] Where, speaking of *religion*, as it stood in the Heathen church, and in his own time, he confesses, " that as to the vulgar
" *disposition*, there was no remedy. Many even of the better sort
" would be found, of course, to intermix with their veneration and
" esteem something of *terror* or *fear* in their religious worship, which
" might give it perhaps the character of Superstition: but that
" this evil was a thousand times overbalanced by the satisfaction,
" hope, joy, and delight, which attended religious worship.
" This," says he, " is plain and evident from the most demonstrable
" testimonies. For neither the societies, or public meetings in the
" temples, nor the festivals themselves, nor any other diverting
" parties, sights, or entertainments, are more delightful or rejoicing
" than what we ourselves behold, and act in the divine worship, and
" in the holy sacrifices and mysteries which belong to it. Our dis-

But now, methinks, I have been ſufficiently grave and ſerious, in defence of what is directly contrary to ſerioufneſs and gravity. I have very ſolemnly pleaded for gaiety and Good Humor; I have declaimed againſt pedantry in learned language, and oppoſed formality in form. I now find myſelf ſomewhat impatient to get looſe from the conſtraint of method: and I pretend lawfully to exerciſe the privilege which I have aſſerted, of rambling from ſubject to ſubject, from ſtyle to ſtyle, in my Miſcellaneous manner, according to my preſent profeſſion and character.

I may, in the mean while, be cenſured probably for paſſing over my third head. But the methodical reader, if he be ſcrupulous about it, may content himſelf with looking back: and if poſſibly he can pick it out of my ſecond, he will forgive this anticipation, in a writing which is governed leſs by form than humor. I had indeed reſolved with myſelf to make a large collection of paſſages from our moſt eminent and learned divines, in order to have ſet forth this latter head of my chapter; and by better authority than my own to have evinced,

" poſition and temper is not, on this occaſion, as if we were in the " preſence of worldly potentates, dread ſovereigns, and deſpotic " princes. Nor are we here found meanly humbling ourſelves, " crouching in fear and awe, and full of anxiety and confuſion, as " would be natural to us in ſuch a caſe. But where *the Divinity* is " eſteemed the *neareſt*, and moſt *immediately preſent*, there horrors " and amazements are the fartheſt banished; there the heart, we " find, gives freeſt way to pleaſure, to entertainment, to play, " mirth, humor, and diverſion; and this even to an exceſs."

"That we had in the main a good-humored "religion." But after considering a little while, I came to this short issue with myself, "That it "was better not to cite at all, than to cite "partially." Now, if I cited fairly what was said, as well on the melancholy as the chearful side of our religion, the matter, I found, would be pretty doubtfully balanced: and the result at last would be this, "That, generally speaking, as oft as a "divine was in good humor, we should find "Religion the sweetest and best-humored thing "in nature: but at other times, and that pretty "often, we should find a very different face of "matters."

Thus are we alternately exalted and humbled, cheared and dejected, according as our spiritual director [81] is himself influenced: and this, peradventure, for our edification and advantage; "That, "by these contrarieties and changes, we may be "rendered more supple and compliant." If we are very low, and down, we are taken up. If we are up, and high, we are taken down. — This is discipline; this is authority and command. — Did religion carry constantly one and the same face, and were it always represented to us alike in every respect, we might perhaps be over-bold, and make acquaintance with it in too familiar a manner: we might think ourselves fully knowing in it, and assured of its true character and genius. From whence perhaps we might become more

[81] Supra, p. 29.

refractory towards the ghoſtly teachers of it, and be apt to ſubmit ourſelves the leſs to thoſe who, by appointment and authority, repreſent it to us in ſuch lights as they eſteem moſt proper and convenient.

I ſhall therefore not only conclude abruptly, but even ſceptically, on this my laſt head; referring my reader to what has been ſaid already, on my preceding heads, for the bare probability "of our having, in the main, a witty and good-"humored Religion."

This, however, I may preſume to aſſert, that there are undoubtedly ſome countenances or aſpects of our religion, which are humorous and pleaſant in themſelves; and that the ſadder repreſentations of it are many times ſo over ſad and diſmal, that they are apt to excite a very contrary paſſion to what is intended by the repreſenters.

MISCELLANY III.

CHAP. I.

Further remarks on the author of the treatises. — *His order and design.* — *His remarks on the Succession of* wit, *and* progress of letters *and* philosophy. — *Of words, relations, affections.* — *Countrymen and country.* — *Old*-England. — *Patriots of the soil.* — Virtuosi, *and* philosophers. — *A Taste.*

HAVING already asserted my privilege, as a Miscellaneous or Essay-writer of the modern establishment, to write on every subject, and in every method, as I fancy; to use order, or lay it aside, as I think fit; and to treat of order and method in other works, though free perhaps and unconfined as to my own; I shall presume, in this place, to consider the present method and order of my author's treatises, as in this joint edition they are ranged.

Notwithstanding the high airs of Scepticism which our author assumes in his first piece, I cannot, after all, but imagine, that even there he proves himself, at the bottom, a real Dogmatist, and shows plainly that he has his private opinion, belief, or faith, as strong as any devotee or religionist of them all. Though he affects perhaps to strike at other hypotheses and schemes, he has

ſomething of his own ſtill in reſerve, and holds a certain plan or ſyſtem peculiar to himſelf, or ſuch, at leaſt, in which he has at preſent but few companions or followers.

On this account I look upon his management to have been much after the rate of ſome ambitious Architect; who being called perhaps to prop a roof, redreſs a leaning wall, or add to ſome particular apartment, is not contented with this ſmall ſpecimen of his maſterſhip: but pretending to demonſtrate the unſerviceableneſs and inconvenience of the old fabric, forms the deſign of a new building, and longs to ſhow his ſkill in the principal parts of architecture and mechanics.

It is certain, that, in matters of learning and philoſophy, the practice of pulling down is far pleaſanter, and affords more entertainment, than that of building and ſetting up. Many have ſucceeded, to a miracle, in the firſt, who have miſerably failed in the latter of theſe attempts. We may find a thouſand engineers who can ſap, undermine, and blow up, with admirable dexterity, for one ſingle one who can build a fort, or lay the platform of a citadel. And though compaſſion in real war may make the ruinous practice leſs delightful, it is certain, that in the literate warring-world, the ſpringing of mines, the blowing up of towers, baſtions, and ramparts of Philoſophy, with ſyſtems, hypotheſes, opinions, and doctrines into the air, is a ſpectacle of all other the moſt naturally rejoicing.

Our author, we ſuppoſe, might have done well

to consider this. We have fairly conducted him through his first and second Letter, and have brought him, as we see here, into his third piece. He has hitherto, methinks, kept up his sapping method, and unravelling humor, with tolerable good grace. He has given only some few, and very slender hints [1] of going further, or attempting to erect any scheme or model which may discover his pretence to a real architect-capacity. Even in this his third piece he carries with him the same sceptical mien: and what he offers by way of project or hypothesis, is very faint, hardly spoken aloud; but muttered to himself, in a kind of dubious whisper, or feigned Soliloquy. What he discovers of form and method, is indeed so accompanied with the random miscellaneous air, that it may pass for raillery, rather than good earnest. It is in his following treatise [2] that he discovers himself openly, as a plain dogmatist, a formalist, a man of method; with his hypothesis tacked to him, and his opinions so close-sticking, as would

[1] *Viz.* in *the letter of enthusiasm*, which makes treatise 1. See vol. 1. p. 34, 35, 36. 41. at the end; — and p. 45. concerning the *previous knowledge*. — So again, treatise 2. vol. 1. p. 66. & 97. — And again, treatise 3. vol. 1. p. 253, 254, &c. where the Inquiry is proposed, and the system and genealogy of the *affections* previously treated; with an apology, p. 268. for the *examining practice*, and seeming pedantry of the method. — And afterwards the apology for treatise 4 in treatise 5. vol. 2. p. 215, 216. Concerning this series and dependency of these joint treatises, see more particularly below, Misc. 4. chap. 1. parag. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Misc. 5. chap. 2. parag. 17, 18. *&c.*

[2] *Viz.* Treatise 4. the Inquiry concerning virtue, vol. 2.

force

force one to call to mind the figure of ſome preciſe and ſtrait-laced profeſſor in a univerſity.

What may be juſtly pleaded in his behalf, when we come in company with him, to inquire into ſuch ſolemn and profound ſubjects, ſeems very doubtful. Mean while, as his affairs ſtand hitherto in this his treatiſe of advice, I ſhall be contented to yoke with him, and proceed, in my miſcellaneous manner, to give my Advice alſo to men of note; whether they are authors or politicians, virtuoſi or fine gentlemen; comprehending him, the ſaid author, as one of the number of the adviſed, and myſelf too, if occaſion be, after his own example of ſelf-admonition and private addreſs.

But, firſt, as to our author's diſſertation in this third treatiſe [3], where his reflections upon authors in general, and the riſe and progreſs of arts, make the inlet or introduction to his philoſophy; we may obſerve, that it is not without ſome appearance of reaſon that he has advanced this method. It muſt be acknowledged, that though, in the earlieſt times, there may have been divine men of a tranſcending genius, who have given laws both in religion and government, to the great advantage and improvement of mankind; yet Philoſophy itſelf, as a ſcience and known profeſſion worthy of that name, cannot with any probability be ſuppoſed to have riſen, as our author ſhows, till other arts had been raiſed, and, in a

[3] Vol. I. p. 204, 205. &c.

certain proportion, advanced before it. And as this was of the greateſt dignity and weight, ſo it came laſt into form. It was long clearing itſelf from the affected dreſs of ſophiſts, or enthuſiaſtic air of poets; and appeared late in its genuine, ſimple, and juſt beauty.

The reader perhaps may juſtly excuſe our author for having in this place ſo overloaded his margin with thoſe weighty authorities and ancient citations [4], when he knows that there are many grave profeſſors in humanity and letters among the moderns who are puzzled in this ſearch, and write both repugnantly to one another, and to the plain and natural evidence of the caſe. The real lineage and Succeſſion of wit, is indeed plainly founded in nature; as our author has endeavoured to make appear both from hiſtory and fact. The Greek nation, as it is original to us in reſpect of theſe polite arts and ſciences, ſo it was in reality original to itſelf. For whether the Egyptians, Phenicians, Thracians, or Barbarians of any kind, may have hit fortunately on this or that particular invention, either in agriculture, building, navigation, or letters; which-ever may have introduced this rite of worſhip, this title of a Deity, this or that inſtrument of muſic, this or that feſtival, game, or dance, for on this matter there are high debates among the learned; it is evident, beyond a doubt, that the arts and ſciences were formed in Greece itſelf. It was there

[4] *Viz.* vol. 1. p. 209, *&c.*

that muſic, poetry, and the reſt came to receive ſome kind of ſhape, and be diſtinguiſhed into their ſeveral orders and degrees. Whatever flouriſhed, or was raiſed to any degree of correctneſs, or real perfection in the kind, was by means of Greece alone, and in the hand of that ſole polite, moſt civilized, and accompliſhed nation.

Nor can this appear ſtrange, when we conſider the fortunate conſtitution of that people. For though compoſed of different nations, diſtinct in laws and governments, divided by ſeas and continents, diſperſed in diſtant iſlands; yet being originally of the ſame extract, united by one ſingle language, and animated by that ſocial, public, and free ſpirit, which, notwithſtanding the animoſity of their ſeveral warring ſtates, induced them to erect ſuch heroic congreſſes and powers as thoſe which conſtituted the Amphictyonian councils, the Olympic, Iſthmian, and other games; they could not but naturally poliſh and refine each other. It was thus they brought their beautiful and comprehenſive language to a juſt ſtandard, leaving only ſuch variety in the dialects as rendered their poetry, in particular, ſo much the more agreeable. The ſtandard was in the ſame proportion carried into other arts. The ſecretion was made. The ſeveral ſpecies found, and ſet apart. The performers and maſters in every kind, honored, and admired. And, laſt of all, even Critics themſelves acknowledged and received as maſters over all the reſt. From muſic, poetry, rhetoric, down to the ſimple proſe of hiſtory,

through all the plastic arts of sculpture, statuary, painting, architecture, and the rest, every thing muse-like, graceful and exquisite, was rewarded with the highest honors, and carried on with the utmost ardor and emulation. Thus Greece, though she exported arts to other nations, had properly for her own share no import of the kind. The utmost which could be named, would amount to no more than raw materials, of a rude and barbarous form. And thus the nation was evidently original in art; and with them every noble study and science was, as the great master, so often cited by our author, says of certain kinds of poetry, self-formed [5], wrought out of nature, and drawn from the necessary operation and course of things, working, as it were, of their own accord, and proper inclination. Now, according to this natural growth of arts, peculiar to Greece, it would necessarily happen, that at the beginning, when the force of language came to be first proved; when the admiring world made their first judgement, and essayed their taste in the elegancies of this sort, the lofty, the sublime, the astonishing and amazing would be the most in fashion, and preferred. Metaphorical speech, multiplicity of

[5] Αυτοσχεδίαστική. Vol. 1. p. 210, &c. It is in this sense of the *natural* production, and *self*-formation of the arts, in this *free* state of ancient *Greece*, that the same great master uses this word a little before, in the same chapter of his poetics, (*viz.* the 4th) speaking in general of the poets: Καλὰ μικρὸν πρεάγνλες, ἐγένησαν τὴν ποίησιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοσχεδιασμάτων. And presently after, Λέξεως δὲ γενομένης, αὐτὴ ἡ Φύσις τὸ οἰκεῖον μέτρον ἔυρε.

figures and high-ſounding words, would naturally prevail. Though in the commonwealth itſelf, and in the affairs of government, men were uſed originally to plain and direct ſpeech; yet when ſpeaking became an art, and was taught by ſophiſts, and other pretended maſters, the high-poetic, and the figurative way began to prevail, even at the bar, and in the public aſſemblies: inſomuch that the grand maſter, in the above-cited part of his rhetorics[a], where he extols the tragic poet Euripides, upbraids the rhetoricians of his own age, who retained that very bombaſtic ſtyle, which even poets, and thoſe too of the tragic kind, had already thrown off, or at leaſt conſiderably mitigated. But the taſte of Greece was now poliſhing. A better judgment was ſoon formed, when a Demoſthenes was heard, and had found ſucceſs. The people themſelves, as our author has ſhown, came now to reform their Comedy and familiar manner, after Tragedy, and the higher ſtyle, had been brought to its perfection under the laſt hand of an Euripides. And now in all the principal works of ingenuity and art, Simplicity and Nature began chiefly to be ſought, and this was the Taſte which laſted through ſo many ages, till the ruin of all things, under a univerſal monarchy.

If the reader ſhould peradventure be led by his curioſity to ſeek ſome kind of compariſon between this ancient growth of Taſte, and that which we

[a] Vol. I. p. 212, 213, 214. in the notes.

have experienced in modern days, and within our own nation; he may look back to the ſpeeches of our anceſtors in parliament. He will find them, generally ſpeaking, to have been very ſhort and plain, but coarſe, and what we properly call homeſpun, till learning came in vogue, and ſcience was known amongſt us. When our princes and ſenators became ſcholars, they ſpoke ſcholaſtically. And the pedantic ſtyle was prevalent, from the firſt dawn of letters, about the age of the reformation, till long afterwards. Witneſs the beſt-written diſcourſes, the admired ſpeeches, orations, or ſermons, through ſeveral reigns, down to theſe latter, which we compute within the preſent age. It will undoubtedly be found, that, till very late days, the faſhion of ſpeaking, and the turn of wit, was after the figurative and florid manner. Nothing was ſo acceptable as the high-ſounding phraſe, the far-fetched compariſon, the capricious point, and play of words; and nothing ſo deſpicable as what was merely of the plain or natural kind. So that it muſt either be confeſſed, that, in reſpect of the preceding age, we are fallen very low in Taſte; or that, if we are in reality improved, the natural and ſimple manner which conceals and covers Art, is the moſt truly artful, and of the genteeleſt, trueſt, and beſt-ſtudied taſte; as has above been treated more at large[7].

Now, therefore, as to our author's Philoſophy

[7] P. 16. and vol. 1. p. 221, 222.

itſelf, as it lies concealed in this treatiſe [8], but more profeſſed and formal in his next [9]; we ſhall proceed gradually according to his own method: ſince it becomes not one who has undertaken the part of his airy aſſiſtant and humorous paraphraſt, to enter ſuddenly, without good preparation, into his dry reaſonings and moral reſearches about the ſocial paſſions and natural affections, of which he is ſuch a punctilious examiner.

Of all human affections, the nobleſt and moſt becoming human nature, is that of love to one's country. This, perhaps, will eaſily be allowed by all men, who have really a Country, and are of the number of thoſe who may be called a People [10], as enjoying the happineſs of a real conſtitution and polity, by which they are free and independent. There are few ſuch countrymen or free-men ſo degenerate, as directly to diſcountenance or condemn this paſſion of love to their community and national brotherhood. The indirect manner of oppoſing this principle, is the moſt uſual. We hear it commonly, as a complaint, "That "there is little of this love extant in the world."

[8] *Viz.* Soliloquy; or, Advice to an Author; treatiſe 3. vol. 1.

[9] *Viz.* Inquiry, *&c.* treatiſe 4. vol. 2.

[10] A multitude held together by force, though under one and the ſame head, is not properly united: nor does ſuch a body make *a people*. It is the ſocial league, confederacy, and mutual conſent, founded in ſome common good or intereſt, which joins the members of a community, and makes a people one. Abſolute power annuls *the public:* and where there is no *public*, or *conſtitution*, there is in reality no *mother*-Country, or Nation. See vol. 1. p. 89, 90.

From whence it is hastily concluded, "That "there is little or nothing of friendly or social af- "fection inherent in our nature, or proper to our "species." It is however apparent, that there is scarce a creature of human kind, who is not possessed at least with some inferior degree or meaner sort of this natural affection to a country.

Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine captos
Ducit [11]. ———

It is a wretched aspect of humanity which we figure to ourselves, when we would endeavour to resolve the very essence and foundation of this generous passion into a relation to mere clay and dust, exclusively of any thing sensible, intelligent, or moral. It is, I must own, on certain relations [12], or respective proportions, that all natural affection does in some measure depend. And in this view it cannot, I confess, be denied, that we have each of us a certain relation to the mere earth itself, the very mould or surface of that planet, in which, with other animals of various sorts, we, poor reptiles! were also bred and nourished. But had it happened to one of us British men to have been born at sea, could we not therefore properly be called British men? Could we be allowed countrymen of no sort, as having no distinct relation to any certain soil or region; no original neighbour-

[11] Ovid. Pont. lib. 1. eleg. 3. ℣ 35.
[12] Τὰ Καθήκοντα ταῖς σχήσεσι παραμένει.

hood but with the watery inhabitants and ſea-monſters? Surely, if we were born of lawful parents, lawfully employed, and under the protection of law; wherever they might be then detained, to whatever colonies ſent, or whitherſoever driven by any accident, or in expeditions or adventures in the public ſervice, or that of mankind, we ſhould ſtill find we had a home, and country, ready to lay claim to us. We ſhould be obliged ſtill to conſider ourſelves as fellow-citizens, and might be allowed to love our country or nation, as honeſtly and heartily as the moſt inland inhabitant or native of the ſoil. Our political and ſocial capacity would undoubtedly come in view, and be acknowledged full as natural and eſſential in our ſpecies, as the parental and filial kind, which gives riſe to what we peculiarly call natural affection. Or ſuppoſing that both our birth and parents had been unknown, and that in this reſpect we were in a manner younger brothers in ſociety to the reſt of mankind; yet, from our nurture and education, we ſhould ſurely eſpouſe ſome country or other, and joyfully embracing the protection of a magiſtracy, ſhould of neceſſity and by force of nature join ourſelves to the general ſociety of mankind, and thoſe in particular, with whom we had entered into a nearer communication of benefits, and cloſer ſympathy of affections. It may therefore be eſteemed no better than a mean ſubterfuge of narrow minds, to aſſign this natural paſſion for ſociety and a country, to ſuch a relation as that of a mere fungus or common excreſcence, to its parent-mould, or nurſing dunghill.

The relation of countryman, if it be allowed any thing at all, must imply something moral and social. The notion itself presupposes a naturally civil and political state of mankind, and has reference to that particular part of society to which we owe our chief advantages as men, and rational creatures, such as are naturally and necessarily united for each other's happiness and support, and for the highest of all happinesses and enjoyments [13]; "The "intercourse of minds, the free use of our reason, "and the exercise of mutual love and friendship."

An ingenious physician among the moderns, having in view the natural dependency of the vegetable and animal kinds on their common mother Earth, and observing, that both the one and the other draw from her their continual sustenance, some rooted and fixed down to their first abodes, others unconfined, and wandering from place to place to suck their nourishment, he accordingly, as I remember, styles this latter animal race, her released sons; "filios terræ emancipatos." Now, if this be our only way of reckoning for mankind, we may call ourselves indeed the sons of Earth, at large; but not of any particular soil, or district. The division of climates and regions is fantastic and artificial; much more the limits of particular countries, cities, or provinces. Our "natale solum," or mother-earth, must, by this account, be the real globe itself which bears us, and in respect of which we must allow the common animals, and

[13] Vol. 1. p. 84. &c. and vol. 2. p. 233. &c.

even the plants of all degrees, to claim an equal brotherhood with us, under this common Parent.

According to this calculation, we muſt, of neceſſity, carry our relation as far as to the whole material world or univerſe, where alone it can prove complete. But, for the particular diſtrict or tract of earth, which, in a vulgar ſenſe, we call our Country, however bounded, or geographically divided, we can never, at this rate, frame any accountable relation to it, nor conſequently aſſign any natural or proper affection towards it.

If unhappily a man had been born either at an inn, or in ſome dirty village; he would hardly, I think, circumſcribe himſelf ſo narrowly, as to accept a denomination or character from thoſe nearest appendices, or local circumſtances of his nativity. So far ſhould one be from making the hamlet or pariſh to be characteriſtical in the caſe, that hardly would the ſhire itſelf, or county, however rich or flouriſhing, be taken into the honorary term or appellation of one's Country.

"What then ſhall we preſume to call our Coun-
"try? Is it England itſelf? But what of
"Scotland? Is it therefore Britain? But
"what of the other iſlands, the northern Orcades,
"and the ſouthern Jerſey and Guernſey? What
"of the Plantations and poor Ireland?" ——Behold here a very dubious circumſcription!

But what, after all, if there be a conqueſt or captivity in the caſe? a migration? a national ſeceſſion, or abandonment of our native ſeats for ſome other ſoil or climate? This has happened,

we know, to our forefathers. And as great and powerful a people as we have been of late, and have ever shown ourselves, under the influence of free councils, and a tolerable ministry; should we relapse again into slavish principles, or be administered long under such heads, as having no thought of liberty for themselves, can have much less for Europe or their neighbours; we may at last feel a war at home, become the seat of it, and in the end a conquest. We might then gladly embrace the hard condition of our predecessors, and exchange our beloved native soil for that of some remote and uninhabited part of the world. Now, should this possibly be our fate; should some considerable colony or body be formed afterwards out of our remains, or meet, as it were by miracle, in some distant climate; would there be for the future no Englishman remaining? no common bond of alliance and friendship by which we could still call countrymen, as before? How came we, I pray, by our ancient name of Englishmen? Did it not travel with us over land and sea? Did we not indeed bring it with us heretofore from as far as the remoter parts of Germany to this island?

I must confess, I have been apt sometimes to be very angry with our language, for having denied us the use of the word Patria, and afforded us no other name to express our native community than that of country; which already bore two different significations[14], abstracted from mankind

[14] *Rus et regio.* In French *campagne* and *païs.*

or ſociety. Reigning words are many times of ſuch force as to influence us conſiderably in our apprehenſion of things. Whether it be from any ſuch cauſe as this, I know not; but certain it is, that, in the idea of a civil ſtate or nation, we Engliſhmen are apt to mix ſomewhat more than ordinary groſs and earthy. No people who owed ſo much to a conſtitution, and ſo little to a ſoil or climate, were ever known ſo indifferent towards one, and ſo paſſionately fond of the other. One would imagine, from the common diſcourſe of our countrymen, that the fineſt lands near the Euphrates, the Babylonian or Perſian paradiſes, the rich plains of Egypt, the Grecian Temple, the Roman Campania, Lombardy, Provence, the Spaniſh Andaluſia, or the moſt delicious tracts in the Eaſtern or Weſtern Indies, were contemptible countries in reſpect of Old England.

Now, by the good leave of theſe worthy patriots of the ſoil, I muſt take the liberty to ſay, I think Old England to have been in every reſpect a very indifferent country; and that Late England, of an age or two old, even ſince Queen Beſs's days, is indeed very much mended for the better. We were, in the beginning of her grandfather's reign, under a ſort of Poliſh nobility, and had no other liberties than what were in common to us with the then faſhionable monarchies and Gothic lordſhips of Europe. For Religion indeed, we were highly famed above all nations, by being the moſt ſubject to our eccleſiaſtics at home, and the beſt tributaries and ſervants to the holy ſee abroad.

I muſt go further yet, and own, that I think Late England, ſince the revolution, to be better ſtill than Old England, by many a degree; and that, in the main, we make ſomewhat a better figure in Europe, than we did a few reigns before. But however our people may of late have flouriſhed, our name or credit have riſen; our trade and navigation, our manufactures or our huſbandry been improved; it is certain, that our region, climate, and ſoil, is, in its own nature, ſtill one and the ſame. And to whatever politeneſs we may ſuppoſe ourſelves already arrived, we muſt confeſs, that we are the lateſt barbarous, the laſt civilized or poliſhed people of Europe. We muſt allow, that our firſt conqueſt by the Romans brought us out of a ſtate hardly equal to the Indian tribes; and that our laſt conqueſt by the Normans brought us only into the capacity of receiving arts and civil accompliſhments from abroad. They came to us by degrees, from remote diſtances, at ſecond or third hand, from other courts, ſtates, academies, and foreign nurſeries of wit and manners.

Notwithſtanding this, we have as overweening an opinion of ourſelves, as if we had a claim to be original and earth-born. As oft as we have changed our maſters, and mixed races with our ſeveral ſucceſſive conquerors, we ſtill pretend to be as legitimate and genuine poſſeſſors of our ſoil, as the ancient Athenians accounted themſelves to have been of theirs. It is remarkable, however, in that truly ancient, wiſe, and witty people, that as fine territories and noble countries as they poſſeſſed, as

indiſputable maſters and ſuperiors as they were in all ſcience, wit, politeneſs, and manners, they were yet ſo far from a conceited, ſelfiſh, and ridiculous contempt of others, that they were, even in a contrary extreme, "Admirers of whatever was in "the leaſt degree ingenious or curious in foreign na-"tions." Their great men were conſtant travellers. Their legiſlators and philoſophers made their voyages into Egypt, paſſed into Chaldea and Perſia, and failed not to viſit moſt of the diſperſed Grecian governments and colonies, through the iſlands of the Ægean in Italy, and on the coaſts of Aſia and Africa. It was mentioned as a prodigy, in the caſe of a great philoſopher [15], though known to have been always poor, "That he ſhould never have travelled, "nor had ever gone out of Athens for his im-"provement." How modeſt a reflection in thoſe who were themſelves Athenians!

For our part, we neither care that foreigners ſhould travel to us, nor any of ours ſhould travel into foreign countries [16]. Our beſt policy and

[15] Socrates.

[16] An ill token of our being thoroughly civilized; ſince, in the judgment of the polite and wiſe, this inhoſpitable diſpoſition was ever reckoned among the principal marks of *barbariſm*. So *Strabo*, from other preceding authors, κοινὸν μὲν εἶναι τοῖς βαρβάροις πᾶσιν ἔθος τὴν ΞΕΝΗΛΑΣΙΑΝ, l. 17. p. 802.

The Ζεὺς Ξένιος of the ancients was one of the ſolemn *characters* of Divinity; the peculiar *attribute* of the ſupreme Deity, benign to mankind, and recommending univerſal love, mutual kindneſs, and benignity, between the remoteſt and moſt unlike of human race. Thus their divine poet, in harmony with their ſacred oracles, which were known frequently to confirm this doctrine.

breeding is, it seems, "To look abroad as little as "possible; contract our views within the narrowest "compass; and despise all knowledge, learning, or "manners which are not of a home-growth." For hardly will the ancients themselves be regarded by those who have so resolute a contempt of what the politest moderns of any nation, besides their own, may have advanced in the way of literature, politeness, or Philosophy.

This disposition of our countrymen, from whatever causes it may possibly be derived, is, I fear, a very prepossessing circumstance against our author; whose design is, to advance something new, or at least something different from what is commonly current in Philosophy and Morals. To support this design of his, he seems intent chiefly on this single point, "To discover how we may, "to best advantage, form within ourselves, what,

Ξεῖν' ἤ μοι θέμις ἔς', ἠδ' εἰ κακίων σέθεν ἔλθοι,
Ξεῖνον ἀτιμῆσαι· πρὸς γὰρ Διός εἰσιν ἅπαντες
Ξεῖνοι ——————————— ΟΔΥΣ. ξ.

Again,

—Οὐδέ τις ἄμμι βροτῶν ἐπιμίσγεται ἄλλος.
Αλλ' ὅδε τις δύσηνος ἀλώμενος ἐνθάδ' ἱκάνει,
Τὸν νῦν χρὴ κομέειν· πρὸς γὰρ Διός εἰσιν ἅπαντες
Ξεῖνοι ——————————— ΟΔΥΣ. ζ.

And again,

Ἀφνειὸς βιότοιο, φίλος δ' ἦν ἀνθρώποισι·
Πάντας γὰρ φιλέεσκεν, ὁδῷ ἐπὶ οἰκία ναίων. ΙΛΙΑΔ. ζ.

See also Odyss. lib. 3. vers. 34. &c. and 67. &c. lib. 4. vers. 30. &c. and 60.

Such was ancient *Heathen* Charity, and pious duty, towards *the whole* of mankind; both those of different *nations*, and different *worships*. See vol. 2. p. 137, 138.

in

" in the polite world, is called a relish, or good " taste."

He begins, it is true, as near home as possible, and sends us to the narrowest of all conversations, that of Soliloquy or self-discourse. But this correspondence, according to his computation, is wholly impracticable, without a previous commerce with the world; and the larger this commerce is, the more practicable and improving the other, he thinks, is likely to prove. The sources of this improving art of self-correspondence he derives from the highest politeness and elegance of ancient dialogue and debate, in matters of wit, knowledge, and ingenuity. And nothing, according to our author, can so well revive this self-corresponding practice, as the same search and study of the highest politeness in modern conversation. For this, we must necessarily be at the pains of going further abroad than the province we call Home. And, by this account, it appears, that our author has little hopes of being either relished or comprehended by any other of his countrymen, than those who delight in the open and free commerce of the world, and are rejoiced to gather views, and receive light from every quarter; in order to judge the best of what is perfect, and according to a just standard, and true taste in every kind.

It may be proper for us to remark, in favor of our author, that the sort of ridicule or raillery which is apt to fall upon Philosophers, is of the same kind with that which falls commonly on the Virtuosi, or refined wits of the age. In this latter

general denomination we include the real fine gentlemen, the lovers of art and ingenuity; such as have seen the world, and informed themselves of the manners and customs of the several nations of Europe; searched into their antiquities and records; considered their police, laws, and constitutions; observed the situation, strength, and ornaments of their cities, their principal arts, studies, and amusements; their architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and their taste in poetry, learning, language, and conversation.

Hitherto there can lie no ridicule, nor the least scope for satiric wit or raillery. But when we push this virtuoso character a little further, and lead our polished gentlemen into more nice researches; when, from the view of mankind and their affairs, our speculative genius, and minute examiner of nature's works, proceeds with equal or perhaps superior zeal in the contemplation of the insect-life, the conveniencies, habitations, and œconomy of a race of shell-fish; when he has erected a cabinet in due form, and made it the real pattern of his mind, replete with the same trash and trumpery of correspondent empty notions, and chimerical conceits; he then indeed becomes the subject of sufficient raillery, and is made the jest of common conversations.

A worse thing than this happens commonly to these inferior Virtuosi. In seeking so earnestly for rarities, they fall in love with rarity for rareness sake. Now, the greatest rarities in the world are monsters. So that the study and relish of these

gentlemen, thus assiduously employed, becomes at last in reality monstrous: and their whole delight is found to consist in selecting and contemplating whatever is most monstrous, disagreeing, out of the way, and to the least purpose of any thing in nature.

In Philosophy, matters answer exactly to this virtuoso scheme. Let us suppose a man, who having this resolution merely, how to employ his understanding to the best purpose, considers "Who "or what he is; whence he arose, or had his "being; to what end he was designed; and to "what course of action he is, by his natural frame "and constitution, destined:" should he descend on this account into himself, and examine his inward powers and faculties; or should he ascend beyond his own immediate species, city, or community, to discover and recognise his higher polity or community, that common and universal one of which he is born a member; nothing surely of this kind could reasonably draw upon him the least contempt or mockery. On the contrary, the finest gentleman must, after all, be considered but as an idiot, who talking much of the knowledge of the world and mankind, has never so much as thought of the study or knowledge of himself, or of the nature and government of that real public and World, from whence he holds his being.

Quid sumus, et quidnam victuri gignimur[17]? ——

[17] Pers. sat. 3. vers. 67.

" Where are we? Under what roof? or on board " what vessel? Whither bound? On what busi- " ness? Under whose pilotship, government, or " protection?" are questions which every sensible man would naturally ask, if he were on a sudden transported into a new scéne of life. It is admirable, indeed, to consider, that a man should have been long come into a world, carried his reason and sense about with him, and yet have never seriously asked himself this single question, "Where " am I? or what?" but, on the contrary, should proceed regularly to every other study and inquiry, postponing this alone, as the least considerable; or leaving the examination of it to others commissioned, as he supposes, to understand and think for him upon this head. To be bubbled, or put upon by any sham advices in this affair, is, it seems, of no consequence! We take care to examine accurately, by our own judgment, the affairs of other people, and the concerns of the world which least belong to us: but what relates more immediately to ourselves, and is our chief self-interest, we charitably leave to others to examine for us, and readily take up with the first comers; on whose honesty and good faith, it is presumed, we may safely rely.

Here, methinks, the ridicule turns more against the philosophy-haters than the virtuosi or philosophers. Whilst Philosophy is taken, as in its prime sense it ought, for a mastership in life and manners, it is like to make no ill figure in the world, whatever impertinencies may reign, or however

extravagant the times may prove. But let us view Philosophy, like mere virtuoship, in its usual career, and we shall find the ridicule rising full as strongly against the professors of the higher as the lower kind. Cockle-shell abounds with each. Many things exterior, and without ourselves, of no relation to our real interests, or to those of society and mankind, are diligently investigated: Nature's remotest operations, deepest mysteries, and most difficult phœnomena, discussed, and whimsically explained; hypotheses and fantastic systems erected; a universe anatomised; and by some notable scheme [18] so solved and reduced, as to appear an easy knack or secret to those who have the clew. Creation itself can, upon occasion, be exhibited; transmutations, projections, and other philosophical arcana, such as in the corporeal world can accomplish all things; whilst in the intellectual a set frame of metaphysical phrases and distinctions can serve to solve whatever difficulties may be propounded, either in logics, ethics, or any real science, of whatever kind.

It appears from hence, that the defects of Philosophy, and those of virtuoship, are of the same nature. Nothing can be more dangerous than a wrong choice, or misapplication in these affairs. But as ridiculous as these studies are rendered by their senseless managers, it appears, however, that each of them are, in their nature,

[18] Vol. 2. p. 151. 156.

eſſential to the character of a fine gentleman, and man of ſenſe.

To philoſophiſe, in a juſt ſignification, is but to carry good-breeding a ſtep higher. For the accompliſhment of breeding is, to learn whatever is decent in company, or beautiful in arts; and the ſum of philoſophy is, to learn what is juſt in ſociety, and beautiful in nature, and the order of the world.

It is not wit merely, but a temper, which muſt form the well-bred man. In the ſame manner, it is not a head merely, but a heart and reſolution, which muſt complete the real Philoſopher. Both characters aim at what is excellent, aſpire to a juſt taſte, and carry in view the model of what is beautiful and becoming. Accordingly, the reſpective conduct and diſtinct manners of each party are regulated; the one according to the perfecteſt eaſe, and good entertainment of company; the other according to the ſtricteſt intereſt of mankind and ſociety: the one according to a man's rank and quality in his private nation; the other according to his rank and dignity in nature.

Whether each of theſe offices, or ſocial parts, are in themſelves as convenient as becoming, is the great queſtion which muſt ſome way be decided. The well-bred man has already decided this in his own caſe, and declared on the ſide of what is handſome: for whatever he practiſes in this kind [19], he accounts no more than what he owes purely to

[19] Vol. I. p. 111, 112.

himſelf; without regard to any further advantage. The pretender to Philoſophy, who either knows not how to determine this affair, or if he has determined, knows not how to purſue his point with conſtancy and firmneſs, remains, in reſpect of philoſophy, what a clown or coxcomb is in reſpect of breeding and behaviour. Thus, according to our author, the taſte of beauty, and the reliſh of what is decent, juſt, and amiable, perfects the character of the gentleman, and the philoſopher. And the ſtudy of ſuch a taſte or reliſh will, as we ſuppoſe, be ever the great employment and concern of him who covets as well to be wiſe and good, as agreeable and polite.

Quid verum atque decens, curo, et rogo, et omnis in hoc ſum [20].

CHAP. II.

Explanation of a taſte continued. — Ridiculers of it. — Their wit and ſincerity. — Application of the taſte *to affairs of government and politics. — Imaginary characters in* the ſtate. — *Young nobility and gentry.— Purſuit of beauty. — Preparation for* philoſophy.

BY this time, ſurely, I muſt have proved myſelf ſufficiently engaged in the project and deſign of our ſelf-diſcourſing author, whoſe defence I have

[20] Horat. lib. 1. ep. 1. ver. 11.

undertaken. His pretention, as plainly appears in this third treatise, is to recommend Morals[1] on the same foot with what in a lower sense is called manners; and to advance Philosophy, as harsh a subject as it may appear, on the very foundation of what is called agreeable and polite. And it is in this method and management that, as his interpreter, or paraphrast, I have proposed to imitate and accompany him, as far as my miscellaneous character will permit.

Our joint endeavour, therefore, must appear this; to shew, "That nothing which is found "charming or delightful in the polite world, no-"thing which is adopted as pleasure, or entertain-"ment, of whatever kind, can any way be ac-"counted for, supported, or established, without "the pre-establishment or supposition of a certain "taste[2]." Now, a taste or judgment, it is supposed, can hardly come ready formed with us into the world. Whatever principles or materials of this kind we may possibly bring with us; whatever good faculties, senses, or anticipating sensations and imaginations, may be of Nature's growth, and arise properly, of themselves, without our art, promotion, or assistance; the general idea which is formed of all this management, and the clear notion we attain of what is preferable and principal in all these subjects of choice and estimation, will not, as I imagine, by any person, be taken for innate. Use, practice, and culture, must precede

[1] Vol. 1. p. 289. &c. [2] Ibid.

the underſtanding and wit of ſuch an advanced ſize and growth as this. A legitimate and juſt taſte can neither be begotten, made, conceived, or produced, without the antecedent labor and pains of criticiſm.

For this reaſon we preſume not only to defend the cauſe of critics, but to declare open war againſt thoſe indolent ſupine authors, performers, readers, auditors, actors, or ſpectators; who making their humor alone the rule of what is beautiful and agreeable, and having no account to give of ſuch their humor or odd fancy, reject the criticiſing or examining art, by which alone they are able to diſcover the true beauty and worth of every object.

According to that affected ridicule which theſe inſipid remarkers pretend to throw upon juſt critics, the enjoyment of all real arts or natural beauties would be entirely loſt: even in behaviour and manners we ſhould at this rate become in time as barbarous as in our pleaſures and diverſions. I would preſume it, however, of theſe critic-haters, that they are not yet ſo uncivilized, or void of all ſocial ſenſe, as to maintain, "That the moſt barbarous life, or brutiſh pleaſure, is as deſirable as the moſt poliſhed or refined."

For my own part, when I have heard ſometimes men of reputed ability join in with that effeminate plaintive tone of invective againſt critics, I have really thought they had it in their fancy to keep down the growing geniuſes of the youth, their rivals, by turning them aſide from that examination

and ſearch on which all good performance, as well as good judgment, depends. I have ſeen many a time a well-bred man, who had himſelf a real good taſte, give way, with a malicious complaiſance, to the humor of a company, where, in favor chiefly of the tender ſex, this ſoft languiſhing contempt of critics, and their labors, has been the ſubject ſet afoot. "Wretched creatures!" ſays one, "impertinent things, theſe critics, as ye "call them! — as if one could not know what "was agreeable or pretty, without their help.— "It is fine indeed, that one ſhould not be allowed "to fancy for one's ſelf. — Now, ſhould a thou- "ſand critics tell me, that Mr A — 's new play "was not the wittieſt in the world, I would not "mind them one bit."

This our real man of wit hears patiently; and adds, perhaps of his own, "That he thinks it, "truly, ſomewhat hard, in what relates to peo- "ple's diverſion and entertainment, that they "ſhould be obliged to chuſe what pleaſed others, "and not themſelves." Soon after this he goes himſelf to the play, finds one of his effeminate companions commending or admiring at a wrong place. He turns to the next perſon who ſits by him, and aſks privately, "What he thinks of his "companion's reliſh?"

Such is the malice of the world! They who by pains and induſtry have acquired a real taſte in arts, rejoice in their advantage over others, who have either none at all, or ſuch as renders them ridiculous. At an auction of books or pictures,

you ſhall hear theſe gentlemen perſuading every one "To bid for what he fancies." But, at the ſame time, they would be ſoundly mortified themſelves, if, by ſuch as they eſteemed good judges, they ſhould be found to have purchaſed by a wrong fancy, or ill taſte. The ſame gentleman who commends his neighbour for ordering his garden or apartment, as his humor leads him, takes care his own ſhould be ordered as the beſt judgments would adviſe. Being once a judge himſelf, or but tolerably knowing in theſe affairs, his aim is not "To change the being of things, and bring "Truth and Nature to his humor; but, leaving "Nature and Truth juſt as he found them, "to accommodate his humor and fancy to their "ſtandard." Would he do this in a yet higher caſe, he might in reality become as wiſe and great a man, as he is already a refined and poliſhed gentleman. By one of theſe taſtes he underſtands how to lay out his garden, model his houſe, fancy his equipage, appoint his table: by the other he learns of what value theſe amuſements are in life, and of what importance to a man's freedom, happineſs, and ſelf-enjoyment. For if he would try effectually to acquire the real ſcience or taſte of life, he would certainly diſcover, "That a right "mind, and generous affection, had more beauty "and charm than all other ſymmetries in the "world beſides:" and, "that a grain of honeſty and "native worth was of more value than all the "adventitious ornaments, eſtates, or preferments; "for the ſake of which ſome of the better ſort

"so often turn knaves; forsaking their principles, and quitting their honor and freedom, for a mean, timorous, shifting state of gaudy servitude."

A little better taste, were it a very little, in the affair of life itself, would, if I mistake not, mend the manners, and secure the happiness of some of our noble countrymen, who come with high advantage and a worthy character into the public. But ere they have long engaged in it, their worth unhappily becomes venal. Equipages, titles, precedencies, staffs, ribands, and other such glittering ware, are taken in exchange for inward merit, honor, and a character.

This they may account perhaps a shrewd bargain. But there will be found very untoward abatements in it, when the matter comes to be experienced. They may have descended in reality from ever so glorious ancestors, patriots, and sufferers for their nation's liberty and welfare: they may have made their entrance into the world upon this bottom of anticipated fame and honor: they may have been advanced on this account to dignities, which they were thought to have deserved. But when induced to change their honest measures, and sacrifice their cause and friends to an imaginary private interest; they will soon find, by experience, that they have lost the relish and taste of life; and for insipid wretched honors, of a deceitful kind, have unhappily exchanged an amiable and sweet honor, of a sincere and lasting relish, and good savour. They may, after this, act farces, as

they think fit, and hear qualities and virtues aſſigned to them under the titles of graces, excellencies, honors, and the reſt of this mock-praiſe and mimical appellation. They may even with ſerious looks be told of honor and worth, their principle, and their country: but they know better within themſelves, and have occaſion to find that, after all, the world too knows better; and that their few friends and admirers have either a very ſhallow wit, or a very profound hypocriſy.

It is not in one party alone that theſe purchaſes and ſales of honor are carried on. I can repreſent to myſelf a noted patriot, and reputed pillar of the religious part of our conſtitution, who having by many and long ſervices, and a ſteady conduct, gained the reputation of thorough zeal with his own party, and of ſincerity and honor with his very enemies, on a ſudden, the time being come that the fulneſs of his reward was ſet before him, ſubmits complacently to the propoſed bargain, and ſells himſelf for what he is worth, in a vile deteſtable old-age, to which he has reſerved the infamy of betraying both his friends and country.

I can imagine, on the other ſide, one of a contrary party; a noted friend to liberty in church and ſtate; an abhorrer of the ſlaviſh dependency on courts, and of the narrow principles of bigots: ſuch a one, after many public ſervices of note, I can ſee wrought upon, by degrees, to ſeek court-preferment; and this too under a patriot-character. But having perhaps tried this way with leſs ſucceſs, he is obliged to change his character, and become

a royal flatterer, a courtier against his nature, submitting himself, and suing, in so much the meaner degree, as his inherent principles are well known at court, and to his new-adopted party, to whom he feigns himself a proselyte.

The greater the genius or character is of such a person, the greater is his slavery, and heavier his load. Better had it been that he had never discovered such a zeal for public good, or signalized himself in that party which can with least grace make sacrifices of national interests to a crown, or to the private will, appetite, or pleasure of a prince. For supposing such a genius as this had been to act his part of courtship in some foreign and absolute court; how much less infamous would his part have proved? how much less slavish, amidst a people who were all slaves? Had he peradventure been one of that forlorn begging troop of gentry extant in Denmark or Sweden, since the time that those nations lost their liberties; had he lived out of a free nation, and happily-balanced constitution, had he been either conscious of no talent in the affairs of government, or of no opportunity to exert any such, to the advantage of mankind: where had been the mighty shame, if perhaps he had employed some of his abilities in flattering like others, and paying the necessary homage required for safety's sake, and self-preservation, in absolute and despotic governments? The taste, perhaps, in strictness, might still be wrong, even in this hard circumstance: but how inexcusable in a quite contrary one! For let us suppose our courtier not only an

Engliſhman, but of the rank and ſtem of thoſe old Engliſh patriots who were wont to curb the licentiouſneſs of our court, arraign its flatterers, and purge away thoſe poiſons from the ear of princes; let us ſuppoſe him of a competent fortune and moderate appetites, without any apparent luxury or laviſhment in his manners: what ſhall we, after this, bring in excuſe, or as an apology, for ſuch a choice as his? How ſhall we explain this prepoſterous reliſh, this odd preference of ſubtlety and indirectneſs, to true wiſdom, open honeſty, and uprightneſs?

It is eaſier, I confeſs, to give account of this corruption of taſte in ſome noble youth of a more ſumptuous gay fancy; ſuppoſing him born truly great, and of honorable deſcent; with a generous free mind, as well as ample fortune. Even theſe circumſtances themſelves may be the very cauſes perhaps of his being thus inſnared. The elegance of his fancy in outward things [3], may have made him overlook the worth of inward character and proportion: and the love of grandeur and magnificence, wrong turned, may have poſſeſſed his imagination over-ſtrongly with ſuch things as frontiſpieces, parterres, equipages, trim varlets in party-colored cloaths; and others in gentlemens apparel. — Magnanimous exhibitions of honor and generoſity! — "In town, a palace and ſuitable "furniture! In the country the ſame; with the "addition of ſuch edifices and gardens as were

[3] Vol. 1. p. 119, 120.

" unknown to our ancestors, and are unnatural " to such a climate as Great Britain!"

Mean while the year runs on, but the year's in-come answers not its expense. " For which of " these articles can be retrenched? which way " take up, after having thus set out?" A princely fancy has begot all this; and a princely slavery, and court-dependence, must maintain it.

The young gentleman is now led into a chace, in which he will have slender capture, though toil sufficient. He is himself taken. Nor will he so easily get out of that labyrinth, to which he chose to commit his steps, rather than to the more direct and plainer paths in which he trod before.

" Farewel that generous proud spirit, which was " wont to speak only what it approved, commend " only whom it thought worthy, and act only what " it thought right! Favorites must be now ob- " served, little engines of power attended on, and " loathsomely caressed: an honest man dreaded, " and every free tongue or pen abhorred as dan- " gerous and reproachful." For till our gentleman is become wholly prostitute and shameless; till he is brought to laugh at public virtue, and the very notion of common good; till he has openly renounced all principles of honor and honesty, he must in good policy avoid those to whom he lies so much exposed, and shun that commerce and familiarity which was once his chief delight.

Such is the sacrifice made to a wrong pride, and ignorant self-esteem; by one whose inward character

must

muſt neceſſarily, after this manner, become as mean and abject, as his outward behaviour inſolent and intolerable.

There are another ſort of ſuitors to power, and traffickers of inward worth and liberty for outward gain, whom one would be naturally drawn to compaſſionate. They are themſelves of a humane, compaſſionate, and friendly nature, well-wiſhers to their country and mankind. They could, perhaps, even embrace poverty contentedly, rather than ſubmit to any thing diminutive either of their inward freedom or national liberty. But what they can bear in their own perſons, they cannot bring themſelves to bear in the perſons of ſuch as are to come after them. Here the beſt and nobleſt of affections are borne down by the exceſs of the next beſt, thoſe of tenderneſs for relations and near friends.

Such captives as theſe would diſdain, however, to devote themſelves to any prince or miniſtry whoſe ends were wholly tyrannical, and irreconcileable with the true intereſt of their nation. In other caſes of a leſs degeneracy, they may bow down perhaps in the temple of Rimmon, ſupport the weight of their ſupine lords, and prop the ſteps and ruining credit of their corrupt patrons.

This is drudgery ſufficient for ſuch honeſt natures; ſuch as by hard fate alone could have been made diſhoneſt. But as for pride or inſolence on the account of their outward advancement and ſeeming elevation; they are ſo far from any thing reſembling it, that one may often obſerve what is

very contrary in these fairer characters of men. For though perhaps they were known somewhat rigid and severe before, you see them now grown in reality submissive and obliging. Though in conversation formerly dogmatical and overbearing, on the points of state and government; they are now the patientest to hear, the least forward to dictate, and the readiest to embrace any entertaining subject of discourse, rather than that of the public, and their own personal advancement.

Nothing is so near virtue as this behaviour; and nothing so remote from it, nothing so sure a token of the most profligate manners, as the contrary. In a free government, it is so much the interest of every one in place, who profits by the public, to demean himself with modesty and submission; that to appear immediately the more insolent and haughty on such an advancement, is the mark only of a contemptible genius, and of a want of true understanding, even in the narrow sense of interest and private good.

Thus we see, after all, that it is not merely what we call principle, but a taste, which governs men. They may think for certain, "This is right, or "that wrong:" they may believe "This a crime, "or that a sin; this punishable by man, or that "by God:" yet, if the savour of things lie cross to honesty; if the fancy be florid, and the appetite high towards the subaltern beauties and lower order of worldly symmetries and proportions; the conduct will infallibly turn this latter way.

Even conscience, I fear, such as is owing to re-

ligious discipline, will make but a slight figure, where this taste is set amiss. Among the vulgar perhaps it may do wonders. A devil and a hell may prevail, where a jail and gallows are thought insufficient. But such is the nature of the liberal, polished, and refined part of mankind; so far are they from the mere simplicity of babes and sucklings; that, instead of applying the notion of a future reward or punishment to their immediate behaviour in society, they are apt, much rather, through the whole course of their lives, to show evidently, that they look on the pious narrations to be indeed no better than childrens tales, or the amusement of the mere vulgar:

Esse aliquos manes, et subterranea regna,
* * * * * * *
Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum ære lavantur. [*].

Something therefore should, methinks, be further thought of, in behalf of our generous youths, towards the correcting of their taste, or relish in the concerns of life. For this at last is what will influence. And in this respect the youth alone are to be regarded. Some hopes there may be still conceived of these. The rest are confirmed and hardened in their way. A middle-aged knave, however devout or orthodox, is but a common wonder; an old one is no wonder at all: but a young one is still, thank Heaven! somewhat extraordinary.

[*] Juv. sat. 2. vers. 149.

And I can never enough admire what was said once by a worthy man, at the first appearance of one of these young able prostitutes, " That he even trem- " bled at the sight, to find nature capable of being " turned so soon; and that he boded greater calamity " to his country from this single example of young " villany, than from the practices and arts of all the " old knaves in being."

Let us therefore proceed in this view, addressing ourselves to the grown youth of our polite world. Let the appeal be to these whose relish is retrivable, and whose taste may yet be formed in morals, as it seems to be already in exterior manners and behaviour.

That there is really a standard of this latter kind, will immediately, and on the first view, be acknowledged. The contest is only, " Which is " right? —— which the unaffected carriage, and " just demeanor? and which the affected and " false?" Scarce is there any one who pretends not to know and to decide what is well-bred and handsome. There are few so affectedly clownish, as absolutely to disown good-breeding, and renounce the notion of a beauty in outward manners and deportment. With such as these, wherever they should be found, I must confess, I could scarce be templed to bestow the least pains or labor, towards convincing them of a beauty in inward sentiments and principles.

Whoever has any impression of what we call gentility or politeness, is already so acquainted with the Decorum and Grace of things, that he

will readily confess a pleasure and enjoyment in the very survey and contemplation of this kind. Now, if in the way of polite pleasure, the study and love of beauty be essential; the study and love of symmetry and order, on which beauty depends, must also be essential, in the same respect.

It is impossible we can advance the least in any relish or taste of outward symmetry and order, without acknowledging that the proportionate and regular state is the truly prosperous and natural in every subject. The same features which make deformity, create incommodiousness and disease. And the same shapes and proportions which make beauty, afford advantage, by adapting to activity and use. Even in the imitative or designing arts, to which our author so often refers, the truth or beauty of every figure or statue is measured from the perfection of nature, in her just adapting of every limb and proportion to the activity, strength, dexterity, life, and vigor of the particular species or animal designed.

Thus beauty and truth[5] are plainly joined with the notion of utility and convenience, even in the apprehension of every ingenious artist, the architect[6], the statuary, or the painter. It is the

[5] Vol. 1. p. 123, &c.

[6] *In Græcis operibus, nemo sub mutulo denticulos constituit, &c. Quod ergo supra cantherios et templa* in veritate *debet esse collocatum, id in imaginibus, si infra constitutum fuerit,* mendosam *habebit operis rationem. Etiamque Antiqui non probaverunt, neque instituerunt, &c. Ita quod non potest in* veritate *fieri, id non putaverunt in imaginibus factum, posse* certam *rationem habere. Omnia enim* certa

ſame in the phyſician's way. Natural health is the juſt proportion, truth, and regular courſe of things, in a conſtitution. It is the inward beauty of the body. And when the harmony and juſt meaſures of the riſing pulſes, the circulating humors, and the moving airs or ſpirits are diſturbed or loſt, deformity enters, and with it calamity and ruin.

Should not this, one would imagine, be ſtill the ſame caſe, and hold equally as to the mind? Is there nothing there which tends to diſturbance and diſſolution? Is there no natural tenor, tone, or order of the paſſions or affections? no beauty or deformity in this moral kind? Or, allowing that there really is, muſt it not, of conſequence, in the ſame manner, imply health or ſicklineſs, proſperity or diſaſter? Will it not be found in this reſpect above all, "That what is beautiful[7] is

proprietate, *et a* veris Naturæ *deductis* moribus, *traduxeruni in operum perfectiones: et ea probaverunt quorum explicationes in* diſputationibus *rationem poſſunt habere* Veritatis. *Itaque ex eis originibus* ſymmetrias *et* proportiones *uniuſcujuſque generis conſtitutas reliquerunt.* Vitruvius, lib. 4. cap. 2. whoſe commentator *Philander* may be alſo read on this place. See above, vol. 1. p. 179. 289. &c. 292. 301. &c. and below, Miſc. 5. chap. 1. parag. 38. 39. &c.

[7] This is the Honeſtum, the Pulchrum, τὸ καλὸν, on which our author lays the ſtreſs of Virtue, and the merits of this cauſe; as well in his other treatiſes, as in this of *Soliloquy* here commented. This *beauty* the *Roman orator*, in his rhetorical way, and in the majeſty of ſtyle, could expreſs no otherwiſe than as *a myſtery. Honeſtum igitur id intelligimus, quod tale eſt, ut, detracta omni utilitate, ſine ullis præmiis fructibuſve, per ſeipſum poſſit jure laudari. Quod quale ſit, non tam definitione qua ſum uſus intelligi poteſt, (quamquam aliquantum poteſt), quam communi omnium judicio, et optimi cujuſque ſtudiis, atque factis; qui permulta ob*

" harmonious and proportionable; what is harmo-
" nious and proportionable is true; and what is

eam unam causam faciunt, quia decet, quia rectum, quia honestum est; etsi nullum consecuturum emolumentum vident. Our author, on the other side, having little of the *orator*, and less of the constraint of formality belonging to some graver *Characters*, can be more familiar on this occasion: and accordingly descending, without the least scruple, into whatever style or humor, he refuses to make the least difficulty or *mystery* of this matter. He pretends, on this head, to claim the assent not only of *orators*, *poets*, and the higher *virtuosi*, but even of the *beaux* themselves, and such as go no farther than the dancing-master to seek for *grace* and *beauty*. He pretends, we see, to fetch this *natural idea* from as familiar amusements as dress, equipage, the tiring-room, or toy-shop. And thus, in his proper manner of *Soliloquy*, or *self-discourse*, we may imagine him running on; beginning perhaps with some particular *scheme*, or fancied *scale* of Beauty, which, according to his philosophy, he strives to erect; by distinguishing, sorting, and dividing into things *animate*, *inanimate*, and *mixed*: as thus.

In the Inanimate, beginning from those *regular figures* and *symmetries* with which children are delighted, and proceeding gradually to the proportions of *architecture*, and the other *arts*. —— The same in respect of *sounds* and Music. From beautiful stones, rocks, *minerals*, to *vegetables*, woods, aggregate parts of the world, seas, rivers, mountains, vales. —— The *globe*. —— Celestial bodies, and their order. The higher *architecture* of nature. —— Nature herself, considered as *inanimate* and *passive*.

In the Animate, from *animals*, and their several kinds, tempers, sagacities, to *men*. —— And from single *persons* of men, their private *characters*, understandings, *geniuses*, dispositions, manners, to public societies, *communities*, or *commonwealths* —— From flocks, herds, and other natural *assemblages* or *groups* of living creatures, to human intelligences and correspondences, or whatever is higher in the kind. The correspondence, union, and harmony of Nature herself, considered as *animate* and intelligent.

In the Mixed, as in a *single person*, a body and a mind, the union and harmony of this kind, which constitutes the real *person*; and the friendship, love, or whatever other affection is formed on

" at once both beautiful and true, is, of conse-
" quence, agreeable and good?"

such an object. A *household*, a *city*, or *nation*, with certain lands, buildings, and other appendices, or local ornaments, which jointly form that agreeable idea of, *home*, *family*, *country*—

" And what of this?" says an airy spark, no friend to meditation or deep thought; " what means this *catalogue* or *scale*, " as you are pleased to call it? Only, Sir, to satisfy myself, " that I am not alone, or single in a certain fancy I have of a " thing called Beauty; that I have almost the whole world for " my companions; and that each of us *admirers* and earnest *pur-* " *suers* of Beauty, such as in a manner we *all* are, if peradven- " ture we take not a certain sagacity along with us, we must " err widely, range extravagantly, and run ever upon a false " sent. We may in the sportsman's phrase *have many hares afoot*, " but shall stick to no real *game*, nor be fortunate in *any capture* " which may content us.

" See with what ardor and vehemence, the young man, neg- " lecting his proper race and fellow-creatures, and forgetting " what is *decent*, *handsome*, or *becoming* in human affairs, pursues " these Species in those common objects of his affection, a *horse*, " a *hound*, a *hawk!* — What doting on these *beauties!* — What " admiration of the *kind* itself! And of the particular *animal*, " what care, and in a manner idolatry and consecration; when " the beast beloved is, as often happens, even set apart from use, " and only kept to gaze on, and feed the enamoured fancy with " highest delight! — See! in another youth, not so forgetful of " *human kind*, but remembering it still in a wrong way! a φιλόκαλος; " of another sort, a Chærea. *Quam elegans formarum spectator!* — " See! as to other *beauties*, where there is no possession, no en- " joyment or reward, but barely seeing and admiring: as in the " *virtuoso*-passion, the love of *painting*, and the *designing* arts " of every kind, so often observed. How fares it with our " *princely genius*, our *grandee* who assembles all these *beauties*, and, " within the bounds of his sumptuous palace, incloses all these " graces of a thousand kinds? — What pains! study! science! —

Where then is this beauty or harmony to be found? How is this ſymmetry to be diſcovered

" Behold the diſpoſition and order of theſe finer ſorts of apart-
" ments, gardens, *villas!* — The kind of harmony to the eye,
" from the various shapes and colors agreeably mixed, and
" ranged in lines, intercroſſing without confuſion, and fortu-
" nately coincident.—A *parterre*, cypreſſes, groves, wilderneſſes.—
" Statues here and there, of *virtue*, *fortitude*, *temperance*.—*Heroes*
" buſts, *philoſophers* heads, with ſuitable mottoes and inſcrip-
" tions. — Solemn repreſentations of things deeply natural. —
" *Caves*, *grottoes*, *rocks*. — *Urns* and *obeliſks* in retired places,
" and diſpoſed at proper diſtances and points of ſight; with all
" thoſe ſymmetries which ſilently expreſs a reigning *order*, *peace*,
" *harmony*, and *beauty!* — But what is there anſwerable to this
" in the Minds of *the poſſeſſors?* — What *poſſeſſion* or *propriety*
" is theirs? What *conſtancy* or *ſecurity* of enjoyment? What
" *peace*, what *harmony* Within." —

Thus our Monologiſt, or *ſelf-diſcouſing* author, in his uſual ſtrain; when incited to the ſearch of Beauty and the Decorum, by vulgar admiration, and the univerſal acknowledgment of the Species in *outward* things, and in the *meaner* and *ſubordinate* ſubjects. By this inferior *ſpecies*, it ſeems, our ſtrict inſpector diſdains to be allured: and refuſing to be captivated by any thing leſs than the *ſuperior*, *original*, and *genuine* kind, he walks at leiſure, without emotion, in deep philoſophical reſerve, through all theſe pompous ſcenes; paſſes unconcernedly by thoſe court-pageants, the illuſtrious and much-envied potentates of the place; overlooks *the rich*, *the great*, and even *the fair*; feeling no other aſtonishment than what is accidentally raiſed in him, by the view of theſe impoſtures, and of this ſpecious *ſnare*. For here he obſerves thoſe gentlemen chiefly to be caught and faſteſt held, who are the higheſt ridiculers of ſuch reflections as his own, and who, in the very height of this ridicule, prove themſelves the impotent contemners of a Species, which whether they will or no, they ardently purſue; ſome in a *face*, and certain regular lines or features; others in *a palace and apartments*; others in *an*

and applied? Is it any other art than that of Philosophy, or the study of inward numbers and proportions, which can exhibit this in life? If no other, who then can possibly have a taste of this kind, without being beholden to philosophy? Who can admire the outward beauties, and not recur instantly to the inward, which are the most real and essential, the most naturally affecting, and of the highest pleasure, as well as profit and advantage?

In so short a compass does that learning and knowledge lie, on which manners and life depend. It is we ourselves create and form our taste. If we resolve to have it just, it is in our power. We may esteem and value, approve and disapprove, as we would wish. For who would not rejoice to be always equal and consonant to

equipage and *dress*. — " O Effeminacy! Effeminacy! who would " imagine this could be the *vice* of such as appear no inconsiderable " men! — But *person* is a subject of flattery which reaches beyond " the bloom of youth. The experienced senator, and aged ge- " neral, can, in our days, dispense with a *toilet*, and take " his outward form into a very extraordinary adjustment and regu- " lation. — All *embellishments* are affected, besides the true. And " thus, led by example, whilst we run in search of *elegancy* " and *neatness*, pursuing Beauty, and adding, as we imagine, " more lustre and value to our own *person*, we grow, in our " real *character* and truer *Self*, *deformed* and *monstrous*, *servile* " and *abject*; stooping to the lowest terms of courtship; and " sacrificing all internal proportion, all *intrinsic* and *real* Beauty " and Worth, for the sake of things which carry scarce a shadow " of the kind." *Supra*, vol. 2. p. 327. *&c.* and vol. 1. p. 120. *&c.* and p. 290.

himſelf, and have conſtantly that opinion of things which is natural and proportionable? But who dares ſearch Opinion to the bottom, or call in queſtion his early and prepoſſeſſing taſte? Who is ſo juſt to himſelf, as to recal his fancy from the power of faſhion and education to that of Reaſon? Could we, however, be thus courageous, we ſhould ſoon ſettle in ourſelves ſuch an opinion of good, as would ſecure to us an invariable, agreeable, and juſt taſte in life and manners.

Thus have I endeavoured to tread in my author's ſteps, and prepare the reader for the ſerious and downright philoſophy, which even in this laſt-commented treatiſe [8] our author keeps ſtill as a myſtery, and dares not formally profeſs. His pretence has been to adviſe authors, and poliſh ſtyles; but his aim has been to correct manners, and regulate lives. He has affected ſoliloquy, as pretending only to cenſure himſelf; but he has taken occaſion to bring others into his company, and make bold with perſonages and characters of no inferior rank. He has given ſcope enough to raillery and humor, and has intrenched very largely on the province of us miſcellanarian writers. But the reader is now about to ſee him in a new aſpect [9], "A formal and profeſſed philoſopher, "a ſyſtem-writer, a dogmatiſt, and expounder." "——— Habes confitentem reum."

[8] *Viz.* treatiſe 3. Advice to an author, vol. 1.

[9] *Viz.* in treatiſe 4. the Inquiry, *&c.* vol. 2.

So to his philoſophy I commit him: though, according as my genius and preſent diſpoſition will permit, I intend ſtill to accompany him at a diſtance, keep him in ſight, and convoy him, the beſt I am able, through the dangerous ſeas he is about to paſs.

MISCELLANY IV.

CHAP. I.

Connection and union of the ſubject-treatiſes. —— Philoſophy *in form.* —— *Metaphyſics.* —— *Egoity.* —— *Identity.* —— *Moral footing.* —— *Proof and diſcipline of the* fancies. —— *Settlement of* opinion. —— *Anatomy of* the mind. —— *A fable.*

WE have already, in the beginning of our preceding miſcellany, taken notice of our author's plan, and the connection and dependency of his joint tracts[1], comprehended in two preceding volumes. We are now, in our commentator-capacity, arrived at length to his ſecond volume, to which the three pieces of his firſt appear preparatory. That they were really ſo deſigned, the advertiſement to the firſt edition of his ſoliloquy is a ſufficient proof. He took occaſion there, in a line or two, under the name of his printer, or, as he otherwiſe calls him, his amanuenſis, to prepare us for a more elaborate and methodical piece which was to follow. We have this ſyſtem now before us. Nor need we wonder, ſuch as it is, that it came ſo hardly into the world, and that

[1] Above, p. 112. Again below, Miſc. 5. chap. 2. parag. 16. &c.

our author has been delivered of it with so much difficulty, and after so long a time. His amanuensis and he were not, it seems, heretofore upon such good terms of correspondence; otherwise such an unshapen fœtus, or false birth, as that of which our author in his title-page [2] complains, had not formerly appeared abroad. Nor had it ever risen again in its more decent form, but for the accidental publication of our author's first letter [3], which, by a necessary train of consequences, occasioned the revival of this abortive, piece, and gave usherance to its companions.

It will appear therefore in this joint edition of our author's five treatises, that the three former are preparatory to the fourth, on which we are now entered; and the fifth, with which he concludes, a kind of apology for this revived treatise concerning virtue and religion.

As for his Apology, particularly in what relates to revealed religion, and a world to come, I commit the reader to the disputant divines and gentlemen, whom our author has introduced in that concluding piece of dialogue-writing, or rhapsodical philosophy. Mean while, we have here no other part left us, than to enter into the dry philosophy, and rigid manner of our author; without any excursions into various literature; without help from the comic or tragic Muse, or from the flowers of poetry or rhetoric.

[2] *Viz.* to the Inquiry, treatise 4., vol. 2.
[3] *Viz.* letter of enthusiasm, vol. 1.

Such is our present pattern, and strict moral task; which our more humorous reader foreknowing, may immediately, if he pleases, turn over; skipping, as is usual in many grave works, a chapter or two, as he proceeds. We shall, to make amends, endeavour afterwards, in our following Miscellany, to entertain him again with more chearful fare, and afford him a dessert, to rectify his palate, and leave his mouth at last in good relish.

To the patient and grave reader, therefore, who, in order to moralize, can afford to retire into his closet, as to some religious or devout exercise, we presume thus to offer a few reflections, in the support of our author's profound Inquiry. And accordingly we are to imagine our author speaking, as follows.

How little regard soever may be shown to that moral speculation or Inquiry which we call the study of ourselves, it must, in strictness, be yielded, that all knowledge whatsoever depends upon this previous one; "And that we can in reality be "assured of nothing, till we are first assured of "what we are ourselves." For by this alone we can know what certainty and assurance is.

That there is something undoubtedly which thinks, our very doubt itself, and scrupulous thought, evinces. But in what subject that thought resides, and how that subject is continued one and the same, so as to answer constantly to the supposed train of thoughts or reflections which seem to run so harmoniously through a long course of life, with the

ſame relation ſtill to one ſingle and ſelf-ſame perſon; this is not a matter ſo eaſily or haſtily decided, by thoſe who are nice ſelf-examiners, or ſearchers after truth and certainty.

It will not, in this reſpect, be ſufficient for us to uſe the ſeeming logic of a famous modern [4], and ſay, "We think; therefore we are." Which is a notably invented ſaying, after the model of that like philoſophical propoſition; That "what is, is." —— Miraculouſly argued! "If I am, I am."——

Nothing more certain! For the ego, or I, being eſtabliſhed in the firſt part of the propoſition, the ergo, no doubt, muſt hold in good in the latter. But the queſtion is, "What conſtitutes the we or I?" and, "Whether the I of this inſtant, be the ſame "with that of any inſtant preceding, or to come." For we have nothing but memory to warrant us; and memory may be falſe. We may believe we have thought and reflected thus or thus; but we may be miſtaken. We may be conſcious of that as truth, which perhaps was no more than dream: and we may be conſcious of that as a paſt dream, which perhaps was never before ſo much as dreamed of.

This is what metaphyſicians mean, when they ſay, "That identity can be proved only by con-"ſciouſneſs; but that conſciouſneſs, withal, may "be as well falſe as real, in reſpect of what is "paſt." So that the ſame ſucceſſional we or I muſt remain ſtill, on this account, undecided.

[4] Monſieur Deſcartes.

To

To the force of this reaſoning I confeſs I muſt ſo far ſubmit, as to declare, that, for my own part, I take my being upon truſt. Let others philoſophize as they are able: I ſhall admire their ſtrength, when, upon this topic, they have refuted what able metaphyſicians object, and Pyrrhoniſts plead in their own behalf.

Mean while, there is no impediment, hindrance, or ſuſpenſion of action, on account of theſe wonderfully refined ſpeculations. Argument and debate go on ſtill. Conduct is ſettled. Rules and meaſures are given out, and received. Nor do we ſcruple to act as reſolutely upon the mere ſuppoſition that we are, as if we had effectually proved it a thouſand times, to the full ſatisfaction of our metaphyſical or Pyrrhonean antagoniſt.

This to me appears ſufficient ground for a moraliſt. Nor do I aſk more, when I undertake to prove the reality of virtue and morals.

If it be certain that I am; it is certain and demonſtrable who and what I ought to be, even on my own account, and for the ſake of my own private happineſs and ſucceſs. For thus I take the liberty to proceed.

The affections of which I am conſcious, are either grief or joy, deſire or averſion. For whatever mere ſenſation I may experience, if it amounts to neither of theſe, it is indifferent, and no way affects me.

That which cauſes joy and ſatisfaction when preſent, cauſes grief and diſturbance when abſent: and that which cauſes grief and diſturbance when

present, does, when absent, by the same necessity, occasion joy and satisfaction.

Thus love, which implies desire, with hope of good, must afford occasion to grief and disturbance, when it acquires not what it earnestly seeks. And Hatred, which implies aversion, and fear of ill, must, in the same manner, occasion grief and calamity, when that which it earnestly shunned, or would have escaped, remains present, or is altogether unavoidable.

That which being present, can never leave the mind at rest, but must of necessity cause Aversion, is its Ill. But that which can be sustained without any necessary abhorrence, or aversion, is not its ill; but remains indifferent in its own nature; the ill being in the affection only, which wants redress.

In the same manner, that which being absent, can never leave the mind at rest, or without disturbance and regret, is, of necessity, its good. But that which can be absent, without any present or future disturbance to the mind, is not its good, but remains indifferent in its own nature. From whence it must follow, that the affection towards it, as supposed good, is an ill affection, and creative only of disturbance and disease. So that the affections of love and hatred, liking and dislike, on which the happiness or prosperity of the person so much depends, being influenced and governed by opinion; the highest good or happiness must depend on right opinion, and the highest misery be derived from wrong.

To explain this, I consider, for instance, the fancy or imagination I have of death, according as I find this subject naturally passing in my mind. To this fancy perhaps I find united an opinion or apprehension of evil and calamity. Now, the more my apprehension of this evil increases, the greater, I find, my disturbance proves, not only at the approach of the supposed evil, but at the very distant thought of it. Besides that the thought itself, will of necessity so much the oftener recur, as the aversion or fear is violent and increasing.

From this supposed evil I must, however, fly with so much the more earnestness, as the opinion of the evil increases. Now, if the increase of the aversion can be no cause of the decrease or diminution of the evil itself, but rather the contrary; then the increase of the aversion must necessarily prove the increase of disappointment and disturbance. And so, on the other hand, the diminution or decrease of the aversion, if this may any way be effected, must, of necessity, prove the diminution of inward disturbance, and the better establishment of inward quiet and satisfaction.

Again, I consider with myself, that I have the imagination [5] of something beautiful, great, and

[5] Of the necessary being and prevalency of some such Imagination or Sense, natural and common to all men, irresistible, of original growth in the mind, the guide of our affections, and the ground of our *admiration*, *contempt*, *shame*, *honor*, *disdain*, and other natural and unavoidable impressions, see vol. 1. p. 119, 120. 289, 290. &c. vol. 2. p. 22, 23. 25. 327. 348, 349. 356; and above, p. 24, &c. and 151. &c. in the notes.

becoming in things. This imagination I apply perhaps to such subjects as plate, jewels, apartments, coronets, patents of honor, titles, or precedencies. I must therefore naturally seek these, not as mere conveniencies, means, or helps in life, for as such my passion could not be so excessive towards them, but as excellent in themselves, necessarily attractive of my admiration, and directly and immediately causing my happiness, and giving me satisfaction. Now, if the passion raised on this opinion, call it avarice, pride, vanity, or ambition, be indeed incapable of any real satisfaction, even under the most successful course of fortune; and then too, attended with perpetual fears of disappointment and loss; how can the mind be other than miserable, when possessed by it? But if, instead of forming thus the opinion of good; if, instead of placing worth or excellence in these outward subjects, we place it, where it is truest; in the affections or sentiments, in the governing part, and inward character; we have then the full enjoyment of it within our power: the imagination or opinion remains steady and irreversible: and the love, desire, and appetite is answered, without apprehension of loss or disappointment.

Here therefore arises work and employment for us within; "To regulate fancy, and rectify opi-"nion [6], on which all depends." For if our loves,

[6] Ὅτι πάντα ἡ ὑπόληψις· καὶ αὐτὴ ἐπὶ σοί. Ἄρον δὴ ὅτι θέλεις τὴν ὑπόληψιν, καὶ ὥσπερ κάμψαντι τὴν ἄκραν Γαλήνη, καθαρὰ πάντα καὶ κόλπος ἀκύμων. M. Ant. βιβ. ιε'.

desires, hatreds, and aversions, are left to themselves, we are necessarily exposed to endless vexation and calamity: but if these are found capable of amendment, or in any measure flexible or variable by opinion; we ought, methinks, to make trial at least, how far we might by this means acquire felicity and content.

Accordingly, if we find it evident, on one hand, that, by indulging any wrong appetite, as either debauch, malice, or revenge, the opinion of the false good increases; and the appetite, which is a real ill, grows so much the stronger; we may be as fully assured, on the other hand, that, by restraining this affection, and nourishing a contrary sort in opposition to it, we cannot fail to diminish what is ill, and increase what is properly our happiness and good.

On this account, a man may reasonably conclude, "That it becomes him, by working upon "his own mind, to withdraw the fancy or opinion "of good or ill from that to which justly, and "by necessity, it is not joined; and apply it, with "the strongest resolution, to that with which it "naturally agrees." For if the fancy or opinion of good be joined to what is not durable, nor in my power either to acquire or to retain; the more

Οἷόν ἐςιν ἡ λεκάνη τοῦ ὕδαλος, τοιοῦτον ἡ ψυχή. Οἷον ἡ αὐγὴ ἡ προσπίπλουσα τῷ ὕδαλι, τοιοῦτον αἱ φανλασίαι. Ὅταν οὖν τὸ ὕδωρ κινηθῇ, δοκεῖ μὲν καὶ ἡ αὐγὴ κινεῖσθαι· οὐ μὲν τοι κινεῖται· καὶ ὅταν τοίνυν σκιλωθῇ τίς, οὐχ αἱ τέχναι καὶ αἱ ἀρεῖαὶ συγχέονλαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὃ ἐισὶ· καταςάλος δὲ, καθίςαλαι κἀκεῖνα. Αρρ. βιϐ. γ'. See vol. 1. p. 160. &c. 254. &c. 279. &c.; and vol. 2. p. 362.

such an opinion prevails, the more I must be subject to disappointment and distress. But if there be that to which, whenever I apply the opinion or fancy of good, I find the fancy more consistent, and the good more durable, solid, and within my power and command; then the more such an opinion prevails in me, the more satisfaction and happiness I must experience.

Now, if I join the opinion of good to the possessions of the Mind; if it be in the affections themselves that I place my highest joy, and in those objects, whatever they are, of inward worth and beauty, such as honesty, faith, integrity, friendship, honor; it is evident I can never possibly, in this respect, rejoice amiss, or indulge myself too far in the enjoyment. The greater my indulgence is, the less I have reason to fear either reverse or disappointment.

This, I know, is far contrary in another regimen of life. The tutorage of Fancy and Pleasure, and the easy philosophy of taking that for good which pleases me, or which I fancy merely[7], will, in time, give me uneasiness sufficient. It is plain, from what has been debated, that the less fanciful I am in what relates to my content and happiness, the more powerful and absolute I must be in self-enjoyment, and the possession of my good. And since it is fancy merely which gives the force of good, or power of passing, as such, to things of chance and outward dependency; it is

[7] Vol. 1. p. 268. vol. 2. p. 187.

evident, that the more I take from fancy in this respect, the more I confer upon myself. As I am less led or betrayed by fancy to an esteem of what depends on others, I am the more fixed in the esteem of what depends on myself alone. And if I have once gained the taste of Liberty [8], I shall easily understand the force of this reasoning, and know both my true Self and Interest.

The method therefore required in this my inward œconomy, is, to make those fancies themselves the objects of my aversion which justly deserve it, by being the cause of a wrong estimation and measure of good and ill, and consequently the cause of my unhappiness and disturbance.

Accordingly, as the learned masters in this science advise, we are to begin rather by the averse [9], than by the prone and forward disposi-

[8] Vol. 2. p. 358. and below, Misc. 5. chap. 3. parag. 19.

[9] Ἄρον δὴν τὴν ἔκκλισιν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, καὶ μετάθες ἐπὶ τὰ παρὰ φύσιν τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν. Εγχ. κεφ. ζ'.

Ὄρεξιν αἵρει σε δεῖ παντελῶς, ἔκκλισιν ἐπὶ μόνα μεταθεῖναι τὰ προαιρετικά. Αρρ. βιβ. γ'. κεφ. κβ. This subdued moderated *admiration* or *zeal* in the highest subjects of *virtue* and *divinity*, the philosopher calls σύμμετρον καὶ καθιστάμενην τὴν ὄρεξιν; the contrary disposition, τὸ ἄλογον καὶ ἀστικόν. Βιβ. γ'. κεφ. κς. The reason why this over-forward ardor and pursuit of high subjects runs naturally into enthusiasm and disorder, is shewn in what succeeds the first of the passages here cited, *viz.* Τῶν δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ὅσον ὀρέγεσθαι καλὸν ἂν, μηδὲν μηδέπω σοι πάρεστι. And hence the repeated injunction, Ἀπόσχου ποτὲ παντάπασιν ὀρέξεως, ἵνα πολὲ καὶ εὐλόγως ὀρεχθῇς· εἰ δ' εὐλόγως, ὅταν ἔχῃς τί ἐν σταυτῷ ἀγαθὸν εὖ ὀρεχθήσῃ. Βιβ. γ. κεφ. ιγ. To this *Horace*, in one of his latest epistles of the deeply philosophical kind, alludes.

tion. We are to work rather by the weaning than the engaging passions; since if we give way chiefly to inclination, by loving, applauding, and admiring what is great and good, we may possibly, it seems, in some high objects of that kind, be so amused and ecstasied as to lose ourselves, and miss our proper mark, for want of a steady and settled aim. But being more sure and infallible in what relates to our ill, we should begin, they tell us, by applying our aversion on that side, and raising our indignation against those meannesses of opinion and sentiment which are the causes of our subjection and perplexity.

Thus the Covetous Fancy, if considered as the cause of misery, and consequently detested as a

Insani sapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
Ultra quam satis est virtutem si petat ipsam. Epist. 6. lib. 1.

And in the beginning of the epistle,

Nil admirari prope res est una, Numici,
Solaque quæ possit facere et servare beatum. Ibid.

For though these first lines as many other of *Horace's* on the subject of philosophy have the air of the *Epicurean discipline* and *Lucretian style*; yet, by the whole taken together, it appears evidently on what system of ancient philosophy this epistle was formed. Nor was this prohibition of the *wondering* or *admiring* habit, in early students, peculiar to *one* kind of philosophy alone. It was common to many; however, the reason and account of it might differ in one sect from the other. The *Pythagoreans* sufficiently checked their tyro's, by silencing them so long on their first courtship to *philosophy*. And though *admiration*, in the Peripatetic sense, as above mentioned, may be justly called the inclining principle or first motive to Philosophy; yet this mistress, when once espoused, teaches us *to admire*, after a different manner from what we did before. See above, p. 31. and vol. 1. p. 35.

real ill, muſt of neceſſity abate: and the ambitious fancy, if oppoſed in the ſame manner, with reſolution, by better thought, muſt reſign itſelf, and leave the mind free and diſincumbered in the purſuit of its better objects.

Nor is the caſe different in the paſſion of Cowardice, or Fear of Death. For if we leave this paſſion to itſelf, or to certain tutors to manage for us, it may lead us to the moſt anxious and tormenting ſtate of life. But if it be oppoſed by ſounder opinion, and a juſt eſtimation of things, it muſt diminiſh of courſe; and the natural reſult of ſuch a practice muſt be, the reſcue of the mind from numberleſs fears, and miſeries of other kinds.

Thus at laſt a Mind, by knowing itſelf, and its own proper powers and virtues, becomes free and independent. It ſees its hindrances and obſtructions, and finds they are wholly from itſelf, and from opinions wrong conceived. The more it conquers in this reſpect, be it in the leaſt particular, the more it is its own maſter, feels its own natural Liberty, and congratulates with itſelf on its own advancement and proſperity.

Whether ſome who are called philoſophers have ſo applied their meditations, as to underſtand any thing of this language, I know not. But well I am aſſured, that many an honeſt and free-hearted fellow, among the vulgar rank of people, has naturally ſome kind of feeling or apprehenſion of this ſelf-enjoyment; when refuſing to act for lucre or outward profit, the thing which from his ſoul

he abhors, and thinks below him; he goes on, with harder labor, but more content, in his direct plain path. He is secure within; free of what the world calls policy, or design; and sings, according to the old ballad,

My mind to me a kingdom is, &c.

Which in Latin we may translate,

— — *Et mea*
Virtute me involvo, probamque
Pauperiem sine dote quæro[10].

But I forget, it seems, that I am now speaking in the person of our grave Inquirer. I should consider I have no right to vary from the pattern he has set; and that whilst I accompany him in this particular treatise, I ought not to make the least escape out of the high road of demonstration, into the diverting paths of poetry or humor.

As grave, however, as Morals are presumed in their own nature, I look upon it as an essential matter in their delivery, to take now and then the natural air of pleasantry. The first Morals which were ever delivered in the world, were in parables, tales, or fables. And the latter and most consummate distributers of morals, in the very politest times, were great tale-tellers, and retainers to honest Æsop.

After all the regular demonstrations and deduc-

[10] Horat. od. 29. lib. 3.

tions of our grave author, I dare ſay it would be a high relief and ſatisfaction to his reader, to hear an apologue, or fable, well told, and with ſuch humor as to need no ſententious moral at the end, to make the application.

As an experiment in this caſe, let us at this inſtant imagine our grave inquirer taking pains to ſhow us, at full length, the unnatural and unhappy excurſions, rovings, or expeditions of our ungoverned Fancies and Opinions over a world of riches, honors, and other ebbing and flowing goods. He performs this, we will ſuppoſe, with great ſagacity, to the full meaſure and ſcope of our attention. Mean while, as full or ſatiated as we might find ourſelves of ſerious and ſolid demonſtration, it is odds but we might find vacancy ſtill ſufficient to receive inſtruction by another method. And I dare anſwer for ſucceſs, ſhould a merrier moraliſt of the Æſopean ſchool preſent himſelf; and, hearing of this chace deſcribed by our philoſopher, beg leave to repreſent it to the life, by a homely cur or two of his maſter's ordinary breed.

" Two of this race, he would tell us, having " been daintily bred, and in high thoughts of " what they called pleaſure and good living, " travelled once in queſt of game and rarities, " till they came by accident to the ſea-ſide. They " ſaw there, at a diſtance from the ſhore, ſome " floating pieces of wreck, which they took a " fancy to believe ſome wonderful rich dainty, " richer than ambergreeſe, or the richeſt product

"of the ocean. They could prove it, by their "appetite and longing, to be no less than quintes- "sence of the main, ambrosial substance, the "repast of marine deities, surpassing all which "earth afforded. — By these rhetorical arguments, "after long reasoning with one another in this "florid vein, they proceeded from one extrava- "gance of fancy to another, till they came at "last to this issue. Being unaccustomed to swim- "ming, they would not, it seems, in prudence, "venture so far out of their depth as was necess- "sary to reach their imagined prize: but being "stout drinkers, they thought with themselves, "they might compass to drink all which lay in "their way, even the Sea itself; and that by "this method they might shortly bring their "goods safe to dry land. To work therefore they "went, and drank till they were both burst."

For my own part, I am fully satisfied that there are more sea-drinkers than one or two to be found among the principal personages of mankind; and that if these dogs of ours were silly curs, many who pass for wise in our own race are little wiser, and may properly enough be said to have the sea to drink.

It is pretty evident, that they who live in the highest sphere of human affairs have a very uncertain view of the thing called happiness or good. It lies out at sea, far distant, in the offing; where those gentlemen ken it but very imperfectly: and the means they employ in order to come up with it, are very wide of the matter, and far short of

their propoſed end. — "Firſt, a general acquaint-
" ance. — Viſits, levees. — Attendance upon the
" great and little. — Popularity. — A place in
" parliament. — Then another at court. — Then
" intrigue, corruption, proſtitution. — Then a
" higher place. — Then a title. — Then a re-
" move. — A new Miniſter! — Factions at
" court. — Shipwreck of miniſtries. — The new:
" the old. — Engage with one: piece up with
" the other. — Bargains; loſſes; after-games;
" retrievals." — Is not this the ſea to drink?

At ſi divitiæ prudentem reddere poſſent,
Si cupidum timidumque minus te! nempe ruberes,
Viveret in terris te ſi quis avarior uno[11].

But leſt I ſhould be tempted to fall into a manner I have been obliged to diſclaim in this part of my miſcellaneous performance; I ſhall here ſet a period to this diſcourſe, and renew my attempt of ſerious reflection and grave thought, by taking up my clew in a freſh chapter.

[11] Horat. epiſt. 2. lib. 2.

CHAP. II.

Passage from terra incognita *to the visible world.— Mistresship of Nature. — Animal - confederacy, degrees, subordination. — Master - animal* man. — *Privilege of his birth. — Serious countenance of the author.*

As heavenly as it went with us in the deep philosophical part of our preceding chapter, and as necessarily engaged as we still are to prosecute the same serious Inquiry, and search into those dark sources; it is hoped, that our remaining philosophy may flow in a more easy vein, and the second running be found somewhat clearer than the first. However it be, we may, at least, congratulate with ourselves for having thus briefly passed over that metaphysical part, to which we have paid sufficient deference. Nor shall we scruple to declare our opinion, "That it is, in a manner, "necessary for one who would usefully philoso- "phize, to have a knowledge in this part of "philosophy, sufficient to satisfy him that there "is no knowledge or wisdom to be learned from "it." For of this truth nothing besides experience and study will be able fully to convince him.

When we are even past these empty regions and shadows of philosophy, it will still perhaps appear an uncomfortable kind of travelling through those other invisible ideal worlds; such as the

ſtudy of morals, we ſee, engages us to viſit. Men muſt acquire a very peculiar and ſtrong habit of turning their eye inwards, in order to explore the interior regions and receſſes of the Mind, the hollow caverns of deep thought, the private ſeats of fancy, and the waſtes and wilderneſſes, as well as the more fruitful and cultivated tracts of this obſcure climate.

But what can one do? or how diſpenſe with theſe darker diſquiſitions and moon-light voyages, when we have to deal with a ſort of moon-blind Wits, who, though very acute and able in their kind, may be ſaid to renounce day-light, and extinguiſh, in a manner, the bright, viſible, outward world, by allowing us to know nothing beſide what we can prove, by ſtrict and formal demonſtration?

It is therefore to ſatisfy ſuch rigid inquirers as theſe, that we have been neceſſitated to proceed by the inward way; and that in our preceding chapter we have built only on ſuch foundations as are taken from our very perceptions, fancies, appearances, affections, and opinions themſelves, without regard to any thing of an exterior World, and even on the ſuppoſition that there is no ſuch world in being.

Such has been our late dry taſk. No wonder if it carries, indeed, a meagre and raw appearance. It may be looked on, in philoſophy, as worſe than a mere Egyptian impoſition. For to make brick without ſtraw or ſtubble, is perhaps an eaſier labor, than to prove Morals without a

world, and eſtabliſh a conduct of life without the ſuppoſition of any thing living or extant beſides our immediate fancy, and World of imagination.

But having finiſhed this myſterious work, we come now to open day, and ſun-ſhine: and, as a poet perhaps might expreſs himſelf, we are now ready to quit

The dubious labyrinths, and Pyrrhonean *cells*
Of a Cimmerian *darkneſs.* —

We are, henceforward, to truſt our eyes, and take for real the whole creation, and the fair forms which lie before us. We are to believe the anatomy of our own body, and, in proportionable order, the ſhapes, forms, habits, and conſtitutions of other animal-races. Without demurring on the profound modern hypotheſis of animal inſenſibility, we are to believe firmly and reſolutely, "that other creatures have their ſenſe and feeling, "their mere paſſions and affections, as well as "ourſelves." And in this manner, we proceed accordingly, on our author's ſcheme, "to inquire "what is truly natural to each creature; and "whether that which is natural to each, and is "its perfection, be not withal its happineſs, or "good."

To deny there is any thing properly natural, after the conceſſions already made, would be undoubtedly very prepoſterous and abſurd. Nature and the outward world being owned exiſtent, the

the reſt muſt of neceſſity follow. The anatomy of bodies, the order of the ſpheres, the proper mechaniſms of a thouſand kinds, and the infinite ends and ſuitable means eſtabliſhed in the general conſtitution and order of things; all this being once admitted, and allowed to paſs as certain and unqueſtionable, it is as vain afterwards to except againſt the phraſe of natural and unnatural, and queſtion the propriety of this ſpeech applied to the particular forms and beings in the world, as it would be to except againſt the common appellations of vigor and decay in plants, health or ſickneſs in bodies, ſobriety or diſtraction in minds, proſperity or degeneracy in any variable part of the known creation.

We may, perhaps, for humor's ſake, or after the known way of diſputant hoſtility, in the ſupport of any odd hypotheſis, pretend to deny this natural and unnatural in things. It is evident, however, that though our humor or taſte be, by ſuch affectation, ever ſo much depraved; we cannot reſiſt our natural anticipation in behalf of Nature [1]; according to whoſe ſuppoſed ſtandard

[1] See what is ſaid above on the word *ſenſus communis*, in that ſecond treatiſe, vol. 1. p. 86. *&c* and p. 93. 119. *&c.* and in the ſame vol. p. 289. *&c* and 301, 302. *&c.* and in vol. 2. p. 254. 340, 341. *&c.* concerning the *natural ideas*, and the *preconceptions* or *preſentations* of this kind; the προλήψεις, of which a learned critic and maſter in all philoſophy, modern and ancient, takes notice, in his lately-published volume of *Socratic* dialogues; where he adds this reflection, with reſpect to ſome philoſophical notions much in vogue amongſt us, of late, here in *England*: *Obi-*

we perpetually approve and disapprove, and to whom in all natural appearances, all moral actions,

ter dumtaxat addemus, Socraticam, *quam exposuimus*, doctrinam *magno usui esse posse, si probe expendatur, dirimendæ inter viros doctos controversiæ, ante paucos annos in* Britannia *præsertim, exortæ, de* ideis innatis, *quas dicere possis* ἐμφύτους ἐννοίας. *Quamvis enim nullæ sint, si accurate loquamur, notiones a natura animis nostris infixæ; attamen nemo negarit ita esse facultates animorum nostrorum natura adfectas, ut, quam primum ratione uti incipimus*, verum *a* falso, malum *a* bono *aliquo modo distinguere incipiamus. Species* veritatis *nobis semper placet; displicet contra* mendacii: *imo et* Honestum Inhonesto *præferimus; ob* semina *nobis indita, quæ tum demum in lucem prodeunt, cum ratiocinari possumus, eoque uberiores fructus proferunt, quo melius ratiocinamur, accuratioreque institutione adjuvamur.* Æsch. dial. cum Silvis philol. Jo. Cler. *ann.* 1711. *p.* 176. They seem indeed to be but weak *philosophers*, though able *sophists*, and artful confounders of words and notions, who would refute *Nature* and *Common Sense*. But Nature will be able still to shift for herself, and get the better of those schemes, which need no other force against them, than that of *Horace's* single verse:

> *Dente lupus, cornu taurus petit. Unde, nisi Intus*
> *Monstratum?* Sat. 1. lib. 2.

An Ass as an *English* author says never butts with his ears; though a creature born to *an armed forehead*, exercises his *butting* faculty long ere his *horns* are come to him. And perhaps if the *philosopher* would accordingly examine himself, and consider his *natural* passions, he would find there were such belonged to him as Nature had premeditated in his behalf, and for which she had furnished him with *ideas* long before any particular practice or experience of his own. Nor would he need be scandalized with the comparison of *a goat*, or *boar*, or other of *Horace's* premeditating animals, who have more *natural wit*, it seems, than our *philosopher*; if we may judge of him by his own hypothesis,

whatever we contemplate, whatever we have in debate, we inevitably appeal, and pay our conſtant homage, with the moſt apparent zeal and paſſion.

It is here, above all other places, that we may ſay with ſtrict juſtice,

Naturam *expellas furca, tamen uſque recurret*[2].

The airy gentlemen, who have never had it in their thoughts to ſtudy Nature in their own ſpecies; but being taken with other loves, have applied their parts and genius to the ſame ſtudy in a horſe, a dog, a game-cock, a hawk, or any other animal of that degree[3], know very well, that to each ſpecies there belongs a ſeveral humor, temper, and turn of inward diſpoſition, as real and peculiar as the figure and outward ſhape which is with ſo much curioſity beheld and admired. If there be any thing ever ſo little amiſs or wrong in the inward frame, the humor or temper of the creature,

which denies the ſame *implanted* Senſe and *natural ideas* to his own kind.

Cras donaberis hædo:
Cui frons turgida cornibus
Primis, et venerem et prælia deſtinat. Od. 13. lib. 3.

And

Verris obliquum meditantis ictum. Ib. od. 22.

[2] Hor. lib. 1. ep. 10.
[3] Vol. 2. p. 74, 75. &c. and 108, &c. and 254, &c.

it is readily called vicious; and when more than ordinarily wrong, unnatural. The humors of the creatures, in order to their redreſs, are attentively obſerved; ſometimes indulged and flattered; at other times controlled and checked with proper ſeverities. In ſhort, their affections, paſſions, appetites, and antipathies are as duly regarded as thoſe in human kind, under the ſtricteſt diſcipline of education. Such is the ſenſe of inward proportion and regularity of affections, even in our noble youths themſelves; who in this reſpect are often known expert and able maſters of education, though not ſo ſuſceptible of diſcipline and culture in their own caſe, after thoſe early indulgences to which their greatneſs has entitled them.

As little favorable, however, as theſe ſportly gentlemen are preſumed to ſhow themſelves towards the care or culture of their own ſpecies; as remote as their contemplations are thought to lie from nature and philoſophy; they confirm plainly and eſtabliſh our philoſophical foundation of the natural ranks, orders, interior and exterior proportions of the ſeveral diſtinct ſpecies and forms of animal beings. Aſk one of theſe gentlemen, unawares, when ſolicitouſly careful and buſied in the great concerns of his ſtable or kennel, "whether his "hound or greyhound-bitch who eats her puppies, "is as natural as the other who nurſes them?" and he will think you frantic. Aſk him again, "whether he thinks the unnatural creature who "acts thus, or the natural one who does otherwiſe, "is beſt in its kind, and enjoys itſelf the moſt?"

and he will be inclined to think ſtill as ſtrangely of you. Or if perhaps he eſteems you worthy of better information, he will tell you, "That his "beſt-bred creatures, and of the trueſt race, are "ever the nobleſt and moſt generous in their na-"tures: that it is this chiefly which makes the "difference between the horſe of good blood, and "the errant jade of a baſe breed; between the "game-cock, and the dunghill-craven; between "the true hawk, and the mere kite or buzzard; "and between the right maſtiff, hound, or ſpaniel, "and the very mungrel." He might, withal, tell you perhaps with a maſterly air in this brute-ſcience, "That the timorous, poor-ſpirited, lazy, "and gluttonous of his dogs, were thoſe whom he "either ſuſpected to be of a ſpurious race, or who "had been, by ſome accident, ſpoiled in their "nurſing and management; for that this was not "natural to them: That in every kind, they "were ſtill the miſerableſt creatures who were thus "ſpoiled; and that having each of them their pro-"per chace or buſineſs, if they lay reſty and out "of their game, chambered and idle, they were "the ſame as if taken out of their element: That "the ſaddeſt curs in the world, were thoſe who "took the kitchen-chimney and dripping-pan for "their delight; and that the only happy dog, "were one to be a dog one's ſelf, was he, who, "in his proper ſport and exerciſe, his natural "purſuit and game, endured all hardſhips, and had "ſo much delight in exerciſe and in the field, as "to forget home and his reward."

Thus the natural habits and affections of the inferior creatures are known, and their unnatural and degenerate part discovered. Depravity and corruption is acknowledged as real in their affections, as when any thing is mishapen, wrong, or monstrous in their outward make. And notwithstanding much of this inward depravity is discoverable in the creatures tamed by man, and, for his service or pleasure merely, turned from their natural course into a contrary life and habit; notwithstanding that, by this means, the creatures who naturally herd with one another, lose their associating humor, and they who naturally pair and are constant to each other, lose their kind of conjugal alliance and affection; yet when released from human servitude, and returned again to their natural wilds, and rural liberty, they instantly resume their natural and regular habits, such as are conducing to the increase and prosperity of their own species.

Well it is perhaps for mankind, that though there are so many animals who naturally herd for company's sake, and mutual affection, there are so few who, for conveniency, and by necessity, are obliged to a strict union, and kind of confederate state. The creatures who, according to the œconomy of their kind, are obliged to make themselves habitations of defence against the seasons and other incidents; they who, in some parts of the year, are deprived of all subsistence, and are therefore necessitated to accumulate in another, and to provide withal for the safety of their collected stores, are by their nature indeed as strictly joined, and

with as proper affections towards their public and community, as the looſer kind, of a more eaſy ſubſiſtence and ſupport, are united in what relates merely to their offspring, and the propagation of their ſpecies. Of theſe thoroughly-aſſociating and confederate animals, there are none I have ever heard of, who, in bulk or ſtrength, exceed the beaver. The major part of theſe political animals, and creatures of a joint ſtock, are as inconſiderable as the race of ants or bees. But had nature aſſigned ſuch an œconomy as this to ſo puiſſant an animal, for inſtance, as the elephant, and made him, withal, as prolific as thoſe ſmaller creatures commonly are; it might have gone hard perhaps with mankind: and a ſingle animal, who, by his proper might and proweſs, has often decided the fate of the greateſt battles which have been fought by human race, ſhould he have grown up into a ſociety, with a genius for architecture and mechanics, proportionable to what we obſerve in thoſe ſmaller creatures; we ſhould, with all our invented machines, have found it hard to diſpute with him the dominion of the continent.

Were we in a diſintereſted view, or with ſomewhat leſs ſelfiſhneſs than ordinary, to conſider the œconomies, parts, intereſts, conditions, and terms of life, which Nature has diſtributed and aſſigned to the ſeveral ſpecies of creatures round us, we ſhould not be apt to think ourſelves ſo hardly dealt with. But whether our lot in this reſpect be juſt or equal, is not the queſtion with us at preſent. It is enough that we know, "There is

" certainly an assignment and distribution: that each " œconomy or part so distributed, is in itself uni- " form, fixed, and invariable: and that if any thing " in the creature be accidentally impaired, if any " thing in the inward form, the disposition, temper, " or affections, be contrary or unsuitable to the " distinct œconomy or part, the creature is wretch- " ed and unnatural."

The social and natural affections, which our author considers as essential to the health, wholeness, or integrity of the particular creature, are such as contribute to the welfare and prosperity of that whole or species, to which he is by nature joined. All the affections of this kind our author comprehends in that single name of natural. But as the design or end of nature in each animal system, is exhibited chiefly in the support and propagation of the particular species; it happens, of consequence, that those affections of earliest alliance and mutual kindness between the parent and the offspring, are known more particularly by the name of natural affection *. However, since it is evident that all defect or depravity of affection, which counterworks or opposes the original constitution and œconomy of the creature, is unnatural; it follows, " That in creatures, who, by their particular œco- " nomy, are fitted to the strictest society and rule " of common good, the most unnatural of all " affections are those which separate from this

* Στόργη. For which we have no particular name in our language.

" community; and the moſt truly natural, gener-
" ous, and noble, are thoſe which tend towards
" public ſervice, and the intereſt of the ſociety
" at large."

This is the main problem which our author, in more philoſophical terms, demonſtrates, in this treatiſe [5], "That for a creature whoſe natural end
" is ſociety, to operate as is by Nature appointed
" him, towards the good of ſuch his ſociety or
" whole, is in reality to purſue his own natural
" and proper good;" and, "That to operate con-
" trarywiſe, or by ſuch affections as ſever from
" that common good, or public intereſt, is in re-
" ality, to work towards his own natural and pro-
" per ill." Now, if man, as has been proved, be juſtly ranked in the number of thoſe creatures whoſe œconomy is according to a joint ſtock and public weal; if it be underſtood, withal, that the only ſtate of his affections which anſwer rightly to this public weal, is the regular, orderly, or virtuous ſtate; it neceſſarily follows, "That Virtue is his
" natural good, and Vice his miſery and ill."

As for that further conſideration, "Whether
" Nature has orderly and juſtly diſtributed the
" ſeveral œconomies or parts; and whether the
" defects, failures, or calamities of particular ſyſ-
" tems are to the advantage of all in general, and
" contribute to the perfection of the one common
" and univerſal ſyſtem;" we muſt refer to our author's profounder ſpeculations in this his Inquiry,

[5] *Viz.* the Inquiry concerning Virtue, vol. 2.

and in his following philosophic Dialogue. But if what he advances in this respect be real, or at least the most probable by far of any scheme or representation which can be made of the universal nature and cause of things; it will follow, "That "since man has been so constituted, by means of "his rational part, as to be conscious of this his "more immediate relation to the universal system, "and principle of order and intelligence; he is not "only by nature sociable, within the limits of his "own species or kind; but in a yet more gener-"ous and extensive manner. He is not only born "to virtue, friendship, honesty, and faith; but "to religion, piety, adoration, and a generous "surrender [6] of his mind to whatever happens from "that supreme cause, or order of things, which "he acknowledges entirely just and perfect."

These are our author's formal and grave sentiments; which if they were not truly his, and sincerely espoused by him, as the real result of his best judgment and understanding, he would be guilty of a more than common degree of imposture. For, according to his own rule [7], an affected gravity, and feigned seriousness, carried on through any subject, in such a manner as to leave no insight into the fiction or intended raillery, is, in truth, no raillery or wit at all; but a gross, immoral, and illiberal way of abuse, foreign to the character of a good writer, a gentleman, or man of worth.

[6] Vol. 2. p. 58. &c.
[7] Vol. 1. p. 51.

But ſince we have thus acquitted ourſelves of that ſerious part, of which our reader was beforehand well apprized, let him now expect us again in our original miſcellaneous manner and capacity. It is here, as has been explained to him, that raillery and humor are permitted; and flights, ſallies, and excurſions of every kind, are found agreeable and requiſite. Without this, there might be leſs ſafety found perhaps in thinking. Every light reflection might run us up to the dangerous ſtate of meditation. And in reality, profound thinking is many times the cauſe of ſhallow thought. To prevent this contemplative habit and character, of which we ſee ſo little good effect in the world, we have reaſon perhaps to be fond of the diverting manner in writing and diſcourſe, eſpecially if the ſubject be of a ſolemn kind. There is more need, in this caſe, to interrupt the long ſpun thread of reaſoning, and bring into the mind, by many different glances and broken views, what cannot ſo eaſily be introduced by one ſteady bent, or continued ſtretch of ſight.

MISCELLANY V.

CHAP. I.

Ceremonial adjusted between author and reader. —— *Affectation of precedency in the former.* —— *Various claim to inspiration.* —— *Bards; prophets;* Sibylline *scripture.* —— *Written oracles; in* verse *and* prose. —— *Common interest of ancient letters and Christianity.* —— *State of* wit, *elegance, and correctness.* —— *Poetic truth.* —— *Preparation for criticism on* our author, *in his concluding treatise.*

OF all the artificial relations formed between mankind, the most capricious and variable is that of author and reader. Our author, for his part, has declared his opinion of this, where he gives his advice to modern authors [1]. And though he supposes that every author in form, is, in respect of the particular matter he explains, superior in understanding to his reader; yet he allows not that any author should assume the upper-hand, or pretend to withdraw himself from that necessary subjection to foreign judgment and criticism, which must determine the place of honor on the reader's side.

[1] *Viz.* treatise 3. vol. 1.

It is evident that an author's art and labor are for his reader's ſake alone. It is to his reader he makes his application, if not openly and avowedly, yet at leaſt with implicit courtſhip. Poets indeed, and eſpecially thoſe of a modern kind, have a peculiar manner of treating this affair with a high hand. They pretend to ſet themſelves above mankind. "Their pens are ſacred; their ſtyle and "utterance divine." They write often, as in a language foreign to human kind; and would diſdain to be reminded of thoſe poor elements of ſpeech, their alphabet and grammar.

But here inferior mortals preſume often to intercept their flight, and remind them of their fallible and human part. Had thoſe firſt poets who began this pretence to inſpiration, been taught a manner of communicating their rapturous thoughts and high ideas by ſome other medium than that of ſtyle and language; the caſe might have ſtood otherwiſe. But the inſpiring divinity or muſe having, in the explanation of herſelf, ſubmitted her wit and ſenſe to the mechanic rules of human arbitrary compoſition; ſhe muſt, in conſequence, and by neceſſity, ſubmit herſelf to human arbitration, and the judgment of the literate world. And thus the reader is ſtill ſuperior, and keeps the upper-hand.

It is indeed no ſmall abſurdity, to aſſert a work or treatiſe, written in human language, to be above human criticiſm or cenſure. For if the art of writing be from the grammatical rules of human invention and determination; if even theſe rules are

formed on casual practice and various use; there can be no scripture but what must, of necessity, be subject to the reader's narrow scrutiny and strict judgment; unless a language and grammar, different from any of human structure, were delivered down from heaven, and miraculously accommodated to human service and capacity.

It is no otherwise in the grammatical art of characters, and painted speech, than in the art of painting itself. I have seen, in certain Christian churches, an ancient piece or two, affirmed, on the solemn faith of priestly tradition, "To have "been angelically and divinely wrought, by a "supernatural hand and sacred pencil." Had the piece happened to be of a hand like Raphael's, I could have found nothing certain to oppose to this tradition. But having observed the whole style and manner of the pretended heavenly workmanship to be so indifferent as to vary in many particulars from the truth of art, I presumed within myself to beg pardon of the tradition, and assert confidently, "That if the pencil had been heaven-guided, "it could never have been so lame in its per-"formance; it being a mere contradiction to all divine and moral truth, that a celestial hand, submitting itself to the rudiments of a human art, should sin against the art itself, and express falsehood and error, instead of justness and proportion.

It may be alledged perhaps, "That there are, "however, certain authors in the world, who "though, of themselves, they neither boldly claim "the privilege of divine inspiration, nor carry

" indeed the leaſt reſemblance of perfection in their " ſtyle or compoſition; yet they ſubdue the reader, " gain the aſcendant over his thought and " judgment, and force from him a certain implicit " veneration and eſteem." To this I can only anſwer, " That if there be neither ſpell nor en- " chantment in the caſe, this can plainly be no " other than mere enthuſiaſm;" except, perhaps, where the ſupreme powers have given their ſanction to any religious record, or pious writ: and in this caſe, indeed, it becomes immoral and profane in any one to deny abſolutely, or diſpute the ſacred authority of the leaſt line or ſyllable contained in it. But ſhould the record, inſtead of being ſingle, ſhort and uniform, appear to be multifarious, voluminous, and of the moſt difficult interpretation; it would be ſomewhat hard, if not wholly impracticable in the magiſtrate, to ſuffer this record to be univerſally current, and at the ſame time prevent its being variouſly apprehended and deſcanted on, by the ſeveral differing geniuſes and contrary judgments of mankind.

It is remarkable, that, in the politeſt of all nations, the writings looked upon as moſt ſacred were thoſe of their great poets; whoſe works indeed were truly divine, in reſpect of art, and the perfection of their frame and compoſition. But there was yet more divinity aſcribed to them [a], than what is comprehended in this latter ſenſe. The notions of vulgar religion were built on their

[a] Supra, p. 127. in the notes.

miraculous narrations. The wiser and better sort themselves paid a regard to them in this respect; though they interpreted them indeed more allegorically. Even the philosophers who criticised them with most severity, were not their least admirers; when they ascribed to them that divine inspiration [3], or sublime enthusiasm, of which our author has largely treated elsewhere [4].

It would, indeed, ill become any pretender to divine writing, to publish his work under a character of divinity, if, after all his endeavours, he came short of a consummate and just performance. In this respect the Cumean Sibyl was not so indiscreet or frantic, as she might appear, perhaps, by writing her prophetic warnings and pretended inspirations upon joint leaves: which, immediately after their elaborate superscription, were torn in pieces, and scattered by the wind.

Insanam vatem *aspicies; quæ rupe sub ima*
Fata canit, foliisque notas et nomina mandat.
Quæcunque in foliis descripsit carmina virgo,
Digerit in numerum, atque antro seclusa relinquit.
Illa manent immota locis, neque ab ordine cedunt.
Verum eadem, verso tenuis cum cardine ventus
Impulit, et teneras turbavit janua frondes:
Nunquam deinde cavo volitantia prendere saxo,
Nec revocare situs, aut jungere carmina curat.
Incousulti abeunt, sedemque odere Sibyllæ [5].

[3] Vol. 1. p. 44. 45. &c.
[4] *Viz.* letter of enthusiasm, vol. 1; and above, Misc. 2. chap. 1, 2.
[5] Virg. Æn. lib. 3.

It

It was impossible to disprove the divinity of such writings, whilst they could be perused only in fragments. Had the sister-priestess of Delphos, who delivered herself in audible plain metre, been found at any time to have transgressed the rule of verse, it would have been difficult in those days to father the lame poetry upon Apollo himself. But where the invention of the leaves prevented the reading of a single line entire; whatever interpretations might have been made of this fragile and volatile scripture, no imperfection could be charged on the original text itself.

What those volumes [e] may have been, which the disdainful Sibyl or prophetess committed to the flames; or what the remainder was, which the Roman prince received and consecrated; I will not pretend to judge: though it has been admitted for truth by the ancient Christian fathers, that these writings were so far sacred and divine, as to have prophesied of the birth of our religious founder, and bore testimony to that holy writ which has preserved his memory, and is justly held, in the highest degree, sacred among Christians.

The policy, however, of old Rome was such, as not absolutely to rest the authority of their religion

[e] *Libri tres in sacrarium conditi, Sibyllini appellati. Ad eos quasi ad oraculum quindecemviri adeunt, cum Dii immortales publice consulendi sunt.* Aul. Gell. lib. 1. cap. 19. et Plin. lib. 13. cap. 13. But of this first *Sibylline* scripture, and of other canonised books and additional *sacred writ* among the *Romans*, see what *Dionysius Halicarnassens* cites from *Varro's Roman Theologics* in his history, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 62.

on any compoſition of literature. The Sibylline volumes were kept ſafely locked, and inſpected only by ſuch as were ordained, or deputed for that purpoſe. And in this policy the new Rome has followed their example, in ſcrupling to annex the ſupreme authority and ſacred character of infallibility to ſcripture itſelf, and in refuſing to ſubmit that ſcripture to public judgment, or to any eye or ear but what they qualify for the inſpection of ſuch ſacred myſteries.

The Mahometan clergy ſeem to have a different policy. They boldly reſt the foundation of their religion on a book; ſuch a one as, according to their pretenſion, is not only perfect, but inimitable. Were a real man of letters, and a juſt critic, permitted to examine this ſcripture by the known rules of art, he would ſoon perhaps refute this plea. But ſo barbarous is the accompanying policy and temper of theſe Eaſtern religioniſts, that they diſcourage, and in effect extinguiſh all true learning, ſcience, and the politer arts, in company with the ancient authors and languages, which they ſet aſide; and by this infallible method leave their ſacred writ the ſole ſtandard of literate performance. For being compared to nothing beſides itſelf, or what is of an inferior kind, it muſt undoubtedly be thought incomparable.

It will be yielded, ſurely, to the honor of the Chriſtian world, that their faith, eſpecially that of the Proteſtant churches, ſtands on a more generous foundation. They not only allow compariſon of authors, but are content to derive their proofs of

the validity of their ſacred record and revelation, even from thoſe authors called profane; as being well apprized, according to the maxim of our divine maſter [7], "That in what we bear witneſs "only to ourſelves, our witneſs cannot be eſtab-"liſhed as a truth." So that there being at preſent no immeditate teſtimony of miracle or ſign in behalf of holy writ; and there being in its own particular compoſition or ſtyle nothing miraculous or ſelf-convincing; if the collateral teſtimony of other ancient records, hiſtorians, and foreign authors, were deſtroyed, or wholly loſt, there would be leſs argument or plea remaining againſt that natural ſuſpicion of thoſe who are called ſceptical, "That the holy records themſelves were no other "than the pure invention or artificial compilement "of an intereſted party, in behalf of the richeſt "corporation and moſt profitable monopoly which "could be erected in the world."

Thus, in reality, the intereſt of our pious clergy is neceſſarily joined with that of ancient letters, and polite learning. By this they perpetually refute the crafty arguments of thoſe objectors. When they abandon this, they reſign their cauſe. When they ſtrike at it, they ſtrike even at the root and foundation of our holy faith, and weaken that pillar on which the whole fabric of our religion depends.

It belongs to mere enthuſiaſts and fanatics to plead the ſufficiency of a reiterated tranſlated text,

[7] John. v. 31.

derived to them through so many channels, and subjected to so many variations, of which they are wholly ignorant. Yet would they persuade us, it seems, that from hence alone they can recognise the divine Spirit, and receive it in themselves, unsubject, as they imagine, to any rule, and superior to what they themselves often call the dead letter, and unprofitable science. — This, any one may see, is building castles in the air, and demolishing them again at pleasure; as the exercise of any aerial fancy, or heated imagination.

But the judicious divines of the established Christian churches have sufficiently condemned this manner. They are far from resting their religion on the common aspect, or obvious form of their vulgar Bible, as it presents itself in the printed copy, or modern version. Neither do they, in the original itself, represent it to us as a very masterpiece of writing, or as absolutely perfect in the purity and justness, either of style or composition. They allow the holy authors to have written according to their best faculties, and the strength of their natural genius: "A shepherd like a shepherd, "and a prince like a prince: A man of reading, "and advanced in letters, like a proficient in the "kind; and a man of meaner capacity and read-"ing, like one of the ordinary sort, in his own "common idiom and imperfect manner of nar-"ration."

It is the substance only of the narrative, and the principal facts confirming the authority of the revelation, which our divines think themselves con-

cerned to prove, according to the beſt evidence of which the matter itſelf is capable. And whilſt the ſacred authors themſelves allude not only to the annals and hiſtories of the Heathen world, but even to the philoſophical works, the regular poems [8], the very plays and comedies [9] of the learned and polite ancients; it muſt be owned, that as thoſe ancient writings are impaired, or loſt, not only the light and clearneſs of holy writ, but even the evidence itſelf of its main facts, muſt in proportion be diminiſhed and brought in queſtion. So ill adviſed were thoſe devout churchmen [10] here-

[8] *Aratus*, Acts xvii. 28.; and *Epimenides*, Titus I. 12. *Even one of their own* Prophets. For ſo the holy apoſtle deigned to ſpeak of a Heathen *poet*, a *phyſiologiſt*, and *divine*; who prophesied of *events*, wrought *miracles*, and was received as an *inſpired writer*, and *author of revelations*, in the chief cities and ſtates of *Greece*.

[9] *Menander*, 1. Cor. xv. 33.

[10] Even in the *ſixth* century, the famed *Gregorius* Bishop of *Rome*, who is ſo highly celebrated for having planted the Chriſtian religion, by his miſſionary monks, in our *English* nation of Heathen *Saxons*; was ſo far from being a cultivator or ſupporter of arts or letters, that he carried on a kind of general maſſacre upon every product of human wit. His own words, in a letter to one of the *French* bishops, a man of the higheſt conſideration and merit, as a noted modern *critic*, and ſatirical genius of that nation acknowledges, are as follow. *Pervenit ad nos, quod ſine verecundia memorare non poſſumus, fraternitatem tuam Grammaticam quibuſdam exponere. Quam rem ita moleſte ſuſcepimus, ac ſumus vehementius aſpernati, ut ea quæ prius dicta fuerunt, in gemitum et triſtitiam verteremus, quia in uno ſe ore cum* Jovis *laudibus* Christi *laudes non capiunt.* * * * * * *Unde ſi poſt hoc evidenter ea quæ ad nos perlata ſunt, falſa eſſe claruerint, nec vos Nugis et Secularibus Literis ſtudere contigerit, Deo noſtro gratias agimus, qui cor veſtrum maculari blaſphemis nefandorum laudibus non permiſit.* Gregorii opera, epiſt. 48.

derived to them through so many channels, and subjected to so many variations, of which they are wholly ignorant. Yet would they persuade us, it seems, that from hence alone they can recognise the divine Spirit, and receive it in themselves, unsubject, as they imagine, to any rule, and superior to what they themselves often call the dead letter, and unprofitable science. — This, any one may see, is building castles in the air, and demolishing them again at pleasure; as the exercise of any aerial fancy, or heated imagination.

But the judicious divines of the established Christian churches have sufficiently condemned this manner. They are far from resting their religion on the common aspect, or obvious form of their vulgar Bible, as it presents itself in the printed copy, or modern version. Neither do they, in the original itself, represent it to us as a very masterpiece of writing, or as absolutely perfect in the purity and justness, either of style or composition. They allow the holy authors to have written according to their best faculties, and the strength of their natural genius: "A shepherd like a shepherd, "and a prince like a prince: A man of reading, "and advanced in letters, like a proficient in the "kind; and a man of meaner capacity and reading, like one of the ordinary sort, in his own "common idiom and imperfect manner of narration."

It is the substance only of the narrative, and the principal facts confirming the authority of the revelation, which our divines think themselves con-

cerned to prove, according to the beſt evidence of which the matter itſelf is capable. And whilſt the ſacred authors themſelves allude not only to the annals and hiſtories of the Heathen world, but even to the philoſophical works, the regular poems[8], the very plays and comedies[9] of the learned and polite ancients; it muſt be owned, that as thoſe ancient writings are impaired, or loſt, not only the light and clearneſs of holy writ, but even the evidence itſelf of its main facts, muſt in proportion be diminiſhed and brought in queſtion. So ill adviſed were thoſe devout churchmen[10] here-

[8] *Aratus*, Acts xvii. 28.; and *Epimenides*, Titus 1. 12. *Even one of their own* Prophets. For ſo the holy apoſtle deigned to ſpeak of a Heathen *poet*, a *phyſiologiſt*, and *divine*; who prophesied of *events*, wrought *miracles*, and was received as an *inſpired writer*, and *author of revelations*, in the chief cities and ſtates of *Greece*.

[9] *Menander*, 1. Cor. xv. 33.

[10] Even in the *ſixth* century, the famed *Gregorius* Bishop of *Rome*, who is ſo highly celebrated for having planted the Chriſtian religion, by his miſſionary monks, in our *English* nation of Heathen *Saxons*, was ſo far from being a cultivator or ſupporter of arts or letters, that he carried on a kind of general maſſacre upon every product of human wit. His own words, in a letter to one of the *French* bishops, a man of the higheſt conſideration and merit, as a noted modern *critic*, and ſatirical genius of that nation acknowledges, are as follow. *Pervenit ad nos, quod ſine verecundia memorare non poſſumus, fraternitatem tuam Grammaticam quibuſdam exponere. Quam rem ita moleſte ſuſcepimus, ac ſumus vehementius aſpernati, ut ea quæ prius dicta fuerunt, in gemitum et triſtitiam verteremus, quia in uno ſe ore cum* Jovis *laudibus* Christi *laudes non capiunt.* * * * * * *Unde ſi poſt hoc evidenter ea quæ ad nos perlata ſunt, falſa eſſe claruerint, nec vos Nugis et Secularibus Literis ſtudere contigerit, Deo noſtro gratias agimus, qui cor veſtrum maculari bloſphemis nefandorum laudibus non permiſit.* Gregorii opera, epiſt. 48.

tofore, who in the height of zeal did their utmoſt to deſtroy all footſteps of Heathen literature, and

lib. 9. Pariſ. ann. 1533. And in his dedication, or firſt preface to his morals, after ſome very inſipid *rhetoric*, and *figurative* dialect, employed againſt the *ſtudy* and *art* of *ſpeach*, he has another fling at the claſſic authors and diſcipline; betraying his inveterate hatred to ancient learning, as well as the natural effect of this *zealot-paſſion*, in his own barbarity both of ſtyle and manners. His words are, *Unde et ipſam artem loquendi, quam magiſteria diſciplinæ exterioris inſinuant, ſeverare deſpexi. Nam ſicut hujus quoque epiſtolæ tenor enunciat, non metaciſmi colliſionem fugio: non barbariſmi confuſionem devito, ſitus motuſque præpoſitionum caſuſque ſervare contemno: quia indignum vehementer exiſtimo, ut verba cœleſtis oraculi reſtringam ſub regulis Donati.* That he carried this ſavage zeal of his ſo far as to deſtroy, what in him lay, the whole body of *learning*, with all the *claſſic authors* then in being, was generally believed. And, what was yet more notorious and unnatural in a *Roman pontiff*, the deſtruction of the *ſtatues*, *ſculptures*, and fineſt pieces of antiquity in *Rome*, was charged on him by his ſucceſſor in the See; as, beſides *Platina*, another writer of his life, without the leaſt apology, confeſſes, See in the above-cited edition of St *Gregory*'s works, at the beginning, *viz. Vita D. Gregorii ex Joan. Laziardo Cœleſtino.* It is no wonder, therefore, if other writers have given account of that ſally of the prelate's zeal againſt the *books* and *learning* of the *ancients*; for which the reaſon alledged was very extraordinary, " That the holy ſcriptures would " be the better relished, and receive a conſiderable advantage, by the " deſtruction of theſe rivals. " It ſeems they had no very high idea of *the holy ſcriptures*, when they ſuppoſed them ſuch loſers by *a compariſon*. However, it was thought adviſable by other *fathers*, who had a like view, to frame new pieces of literature, after the model of theſe condemned ancients. Hence thoſe ridiculous attempts of new *heroic poems*, new *epics* and *dramatics*, new *Homers*, *Euripides*, *Menanders*, which were with ſo much pains and ſo little effect induſtriously ſet afoot by the zealous prieſthood; when ignorance prevailed, and the hierarchal dominion was ſo univerſal. But though their power had well nigh compaſſed the deſtruction of thoſe *great originals*, they were far from being able to procure any reception for their *puny imitations*. The *mock-works* have lain in

consequently all further use of learning or antiquity.

But happily the zeal of this kind is now left as proper only to those despised and ignorant modern enthusiasts we have described. The Roman church itself is so recovered from this primitive fanaticism, that their great men, and even their pontiffs [11], are found ready to give their helping hand, and confer their bounty liberally, towards the advancement of all ancient and polite learning. They justly observe, that their very traditions stand in need of

their deserved obscurity; as will all other attempts of that kind, concerning which our author has already given his opinion, vol. I. p. 306. &c. But as to the *ill policy*, as well as *barbarity* of this *zealot*-enmity against the works of the ancients, a foreign Protestant divine, and most learned defender of religion, making the best excuse he can for the *Greek fathers* and endeavouring to clear them from this general charge of havock and massacre committed upon *science* and *erudition*, has these words. *Si cela est, voi'à encore un nouveau sujet de mépriser les patriarches de Constantinople qui n'étoient d'ailleurs rien moins que gens de bien; mais j'ai de la peine à le croire, parce qu'il nous est resté des poetes infiniment plus sales que ceux qui se sont perdus. Personne ne doute qu'Aristophane ne soit beaucoup plus sale, que n'étoit Menander. Plutarque en est un bon témoin, dans la comparaison qu'il a faite de ces deux poetes. Il pourroit être neanmoins arrivé, que quelques* ecclesiastiques *ennemis des* belles lettres, *en eussent usé comme dit Chalcondyle, sans penser qu'en conservant* toute l'antiquité *Grecque, ils conserveroient la langue de leurs predecesseurs, et une infinité de faits qui servoient beaucoup à l'intelligence et à la confirmation de* l'histoire sacrée, *et même* de la religion Chretienne. *Ces gens-là devoient au moins nous conserver les histoires anciennes des orientaux, comme des Chaldéens, des Tyriens, et des Egyptiens; mais ils agissoient plus par ignorance et par negligence, que par raison.* Bibl. Chois. tom. 14. p. 131. 132. 133.

[11] Such a one is the present prince, *Clement* XI. an encourager of all arts and sciences.

ſome collateral proof. The conſervation of theſe other ancient and diſintereſted authors, they wiſely judge eſſential to the credibility of thoſe principal facts, on which the whole religious hiſtory and tradition depend.

It would indeed be in vain for us to bring a Pontius Pilate into our creed, and recite what happened under him in Judea, if we knew not "under whom he himſelf governed, whoſe authority he had, or what character he bore, in that "remote country, and amidſt a foreign people." In the ſame manner, it would be in vain for a Roman pontiff to derive his title to ſpiritual ſovereignty from the ſeat, influence, power, and donation of the Roman Cæſars, and their ſucceſſors; if it appeared not by any hiſtory, or collateral teſtimony, "who the firſt Cæſars were; and how they came "poſſeſſed of that univerſal power, and long reſidence of dominion."

My reader, doubtleſs, by this time, muſt begin to wonder through what labyrinth of ſpeculation, and odd texture of capricious reflections I am offering to conduct him. But he will not, I preſume, be altogether diſpleaſed with me, when I give him to underſtand, that being now come into my laſt miſcellany, and being ſenſible of the little courtſhip I have paid him, comparatively with what is practiſed in that kind by other modern authors; I am willing, by way of compenſation, to expreſs my loyalty or homage towards him, and ſhow, by my natural ſentiments and principles, "What particular deference and high reſpect I think to be "his due."

The iſſue therefore of this long deduction is, in the firſt place, with due compliments, in my capacity of author, and in the name of all modeſt workmen willingly joining with me in this repreſentation, to congratulate our Engliſh reader on the eſtabliſhment of what is ſo advantageous to himſelf; I mean, that mutual relation between him and ourſelves, which naturally turns ſo much to his advantage, and makes us to be in reality the ſubſervient party. And in this reſpect, it is to be hoped he will long enjoy his juſt ſuperiority and privilege over his humble ſervants, who compoſe and labor for his ſake. The relation in all likelihood muſt ſtill continue, and be improved. Our common religion and Chriſtianity, founded on letters and ſcripture, promiſes thus much. Nor is this hope likely to fail us, whilſt readers are really allowed the liberty to read; that is to ſay, to examine, conſtrue, and remark with underſtanding. Learning and ſcience muſt of neceſſity flouriſh, whilſt the language of the wiſeſt and moſt learned of nations is acknowledged to contain the principal and eſſential part of our holy revelation. And criticiſm, examinations, judgments, literate labors, and inquiries, muſt ſtill be in repute and practice, whilſt ancient authors, ſo neceſſary to the ſupport of the ſacred volumes, are in requeſt, and afford employment of ſuch infinite extent to us moderns, of whatever degree, who are deſirous to ſignalize ourſelves by any atchievement in letters, and be conſidered as the inveſtigators of knowledge and politeneſs.

I may undoubtedly, by virtue of my preceding argument in behalf of criticism, be allowed, without suspicion of flattery or mere courtship, to assert the Reader's privilege above the author, and assign to him, as I have done, the upper hand, and place of honor. As to fact, we know for certain, that the greatest of philosophers, the very founder of philosophy itself, was no author. Nor did the divine author and founder of our religion condescend to be an author in this other respect. He who could best have given us the history of his own life, with the entire sermons and divine discourses which he made in public, was pleased to leave it to others, "to take in "hand:" as there were many, it seems, long afterwards, who did; and undertook accordingly "to write in order, and as seemed good to them, "for the better information of particular persons, "what was then believed among the initiated or "catechized, from tradition, and early instruction "in their youth; or what had been transmitted, "by report, from such as were the presumed "auditors, and eye-witnesses of those things in "former time[12]."

[12] So *Luke*, chap. i. ℣. 1. 2. 3. 4. 1. "Forasmuchas Many "have taken in hand to set forth, in order, a declaration *exposition* "or *narrative*, διήγησιν of those things which are most surely believe-"ed among or *were fulfilled in*, or *among* us; 2. Even as they "delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-wit-"nesses and ministers of the word: 3. It seemed good to Me al-"so, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very "first, *or having looked back, and searched accurately into all matters*

Whether those sacred books ascribed to the divine legislator of the Jews, and which treat of his death, burial, and succession, as well as of his life and actions [13], are strictly to be understood as coming from the immediate pen of that holy founder, or rather from some other inspired hand, guided by the same influencing Spirit; I will not presume so much as to examine or inquire. But in general, we find, that both as to public concerns in religion and in philosophy, the great and eminent actors were of a rank superior to the writing-worthies. The great Athenian legislator, though noted as a poetical genius, cannot be

" *from the beginning*, *or highest time*, παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν
" ἀκριβῶς, to write unto *thee* in order, most excellent *Theophilus*;
" 4. That *thou* mighteſt know the certainty or *validity*, *ſound dis-*
" *cuſſion*, ἀσφάλειαν of those things wherein Thou haſt been in-
" ſtructed or *catechized*, περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης." Whether the words πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν, in the firſt verſe, should be rendered *believed among*, or *fulfilled in*, or *among us*, may depend on the different reading of the *original*. For in ſome copies, the ἐν next following is left out. However, the exact interpreters, or verbal translators, render it *fulfilled*. *Vid. Ar. Montan. edit. Plantin.* 1584. In ℣ 4. the word Certainty, ἀσφάλειαν, is interpreted ἀκρίβειαν, *validity*, *ſoundneſs*, *good foundation*, from the ſenſe of the preceding verſe. See the late edition of our learned Dr *Mill*, *ex recenſione Kuſteri*, *Rot.* 1710. For the word *catechized*, κατηχήθης, the laſt of the fourth verſe, *Rob. Conſtantine* has this explanation of it. *Priſcis theologis apud* Ægyptios *mos erat*, *ut* myſteria *voce tantum*, *veluti per manus*, *poſteris relinquerent*. *Apud Chriſtianos*, *qui baptiſmatis erant candidati*, *iis*, *viva voce*, *tradebantur fidei Chriſtianæ myſteria*, ſine ſcriptis: *quod* Paulus *et* Lucas κατηχεῖν *vocant*. *Unde qui docebantur*, catechumeni *vocabantur*; *qui docebant*, catechiſtæ.

[13] Deut. xxxiv. 5. 6. 7. &c.

esteemed an author, for the sake of some few verses he may occasionally have made. Nor was the great Spartan founder, a poet himself, though author or redeemer, if I may so express it, to the greatest and best of poets, who owed in a manner his form and being to the accurate searches and collections of that great patron. The politicians and civil Sages, who were fitted in all respects for the great scene of business, could not, it seems, be well taken out of it, to attend the slender and minute affairs of letters, and scholastic science.

It is true indeed, that without a capacity for action, and a knowledge of the world and mankind, there can be no author naturally qualified to write with dignity, or execute any noble or great design. But there are many, who, with the highest capacities for business, are, by their fortune, denied the privilege of that higher sphere. As there are others, who having once moved in it, have been afterwards, by many impediments and obstructions, necessitated to retire, and exert their genius in this lower degree.

It is to some catastrophe of this kind that we owe the noblest historians, even the two princes and fathers of history, as well as the greatest philosophical writers, the founder of the Academy, and others, who were also noble in respect of their birth, and fitted for the highest stations in the public; but discouraged from engaging in it, on account of some misfortunes experienced either in their own persons, or that of their near friends.

It is to the early banishment and long retirement of a heroic youth out of his native country, that we owe an original system of works, the politest, wisest, usefullest, and, to those who can understand the divineness of a just simplicity, the most amiable [14], and even the most elevating and exalting of all uninspired and merely human authors.

To this fortune we owe some of the greatest of the ancient poets. In was this chance which produced the Muse of an exalted Grecian Lyric [15], and of his follower Horace [16]; whose character, though easy to be gathered from history, and his own works, is little observed by any of his commentators: the general idea, conceived of him, being drawn chiefly from his precarious and low circumstances at court, after the forfeiture of his estate, under the usurpation and conquest of an Octavius, and the ministry of a Mæcenas; not from his better condition, and nobler employments in earlier days, under the favor and friendship of greater and better men, whilst the Roman state and liberty subsisted. For of this change he himself,

[14] Τὸν ἥδιστον καὶ χαριέστατον Ξενοφῶντα, as *Athenæus* calls him, lib. 2. See vol. 1. p. 220.

[15] *Et te sonantem plenius aureo,*
Alcæe, plectro dura navis,
Dura fugæ mala, dura belli. Horat. Od. 13. lib. 2.

[16] ——— *Age, dic Latinum,*
Barbite, carmen,
Lesbio primum modulate civi;
Qui ferox bello, &c. Horat. Od. 32. lib. 1.

as great a courtier as he seemed afterwards, gives sufficient intimation [17].

[17] *Dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato,*
Civilisque rudem belli tulit æstus in arma,
Cæsaris Augusti non responsura lacertis.
Unde simul primum me dimisere Philippi,
Decisis humilem pennis, inopemque paterni
Et laris et fundi, paupertas impulit audax
Ut versus facerem.

Horat. epist. 2. lib. 2. *et* sat. 6. lib. 1.

——————— *At olim*
Quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.

Viz. under *Brutus*. Whence again that natural boast:

Me primis urbis Belli placuisse domique. Epist. 20.

And again,

——— *Cum Magnis vixisse invita fatebitur usque*
Invidia. Sat. 1. lib. 2.

Where the *vixisse* shows plainly whom he principally meant by his *Magni*, his *early* patrons and great men in the state: his apology and defence here, as well as in his fourth and sixth satires of his first book, and his 2d epistle of his second, and elsewhere, being supported still by the open and bold assertion of his good education, equal to the highest senators, and under the best masters, his employments at home and abroad, and his *early* commerce and familiarity with *former* great men, before these his *new* friendships and this *latter* court-acquaintance, which was now envied him by his adversaries.

Nunc quia Mæcenas, tibi sum convictor : at Olim
Quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.

The reproach *now* was with respect to a *Mæcenas* or *Augustus*. It was the same *formerly* with respect to a *Brutus*, and those who were *then* the principal and leading men. The complaint or murmur against him on account of his being an *upstart* or *favorite* under a *Mæcenas* and *Augustus*, could not be answered, by a

Let Authors therefore know themſelves; and though conſcious of worth, virtue, and a genius, ſuch as may juſtly place them above flattery or mean courtſhip to their Reader; yet let them reflect, that as authors merely, they are but of the ſecond rank of men. And let the Reader withal conſider, "That when he unworthily reſigns "the place of honor, and ſurrenders his taſte, or "judgment, to an author of ever ſo great a "name, or venerable antiquity, and not to reaſon, "and truth, at whatever hazard; he not only "betrays himſelf, but withal the common cauſe "of Author and Reader, the intereſt of letters "and knowledge, and the chief liberty, privilege, "and prerogative of the rational part of man-"kind."

It is related in hiſtory of the Cappadocians,

vixiſſe relating to the ſame perſons, any more than his *placuiſſe* joined with his *Belli domique* could relate to thoſe under whom he never went to war, nor would ever conſent to bear any honors. For ſo he himſelf diſtinguishes Sat. 6. to *Mæcenas*

——— *Quia non ut forſit honorem*
Jure mihi invideat quivis, ita te quoque amicum.

He was formerly *an actor*, and in the *miniſtry* of affairs; now only a Friend to *a miniſter;* himſelf ſtill a *private* and *retired* man. That he refuſed *Auguſtus's* offer of the ſecretaryship, is well known. But in theſe circumſtances, the politeneſs as well as artifice of *Horace* is admirable; in making *futurity* or *poſterity* to be the ſpeaking party in both thoſe places, where he ſuggeſts his intimacy and favor with the *great*, that there might, in ſome meaſure, be room left though in ſtrictneſs there was ſcarce any for an *Octavius* and a *Mæcenas* to be included. See vol. I. p. 233. in the notes.

that being offered their liberty by the Romans, and permitted to govern themselves by their own laws and constitutions, they were much terrified at the proposal; and, as if some sore harm had been intended them, humbly made it their request, "That they might be governed by arbitrary power, "and that an absolute governor might without "delay be appointed over them at the discretion "of the Romans." For such was their disposition towards mere slavery and subjection, that they dared not pretend so much as to chuse their own Master. So essential they thought Slavery, and so divine a thing the right of Mastership, that they dared not be so free even as to presume to give themselves that blessing, which they chose to leave rather to providence, fortune, or a conqueror to bestow upon them. They dared not make a king; but would rather take one from their powerful neighbours. Had they been necessitated to come to an election, the horror of such a use of liberty in government, would perhaps have determined them to chuse blindfold, or leave it to the decision of the commonest lot, cast of dye, cross or pile, or whatever it were which might best enable them to clear themselves of the heinous charge of using the least foresight, choice, or prudence in such an affair.

I should think it a great misfortune, were my reader of the number of those, who, in a kind of Cappadocian spirit, could easily be terrified with the proposal of giving him his liberty, and making him his own judge. My endeavour, I must

muſt confeſs, has been to ſhow him his juſt prerogative in this reſpect, and to give him the ſharpeſt eye over his author, invite him to criticiſe honeſtly, without favor or affection, and with the utmoſt bent of his parts and judgment. On this account it may be objected to me, perhaps, "That I am not a little vain and preſumptuous, "in my own, as well as in my author's behalf, "who can thus, as it were, challenge my reader "to a trial of his keeneſt wit."

But to this I anſwer, That ſhould I have the good fortune to raiſe the maſterly ſpirit of juſt Criticiſm in my readers, and exalt them ever ſo little above the lazy, timorous, over-modeſt, or reſigned ſtate, in which the generality of them remain; though by this very ſpirit I myſelf might poſſibly meet my doom: I ſhould, however, abundantly congratulate with myſelf on theſe my low flights, be proud of having plumed the arrows of better wits, and furniſhed artillery, or ammunition of any kind, to thoſe powers, to which I myſelf had fallen a victim.

——— *Fungar vice cotis*[18]. ———

I could reconcile my ambition in this reſpect to what I call my loyalty to the Reader, and ſay of his elevation in criticiſm and judgment, what a Roman princeſs ſaid of her ſon's advancement to empire, "Occidat, dum imperet[19]."

[18] Horat. de arte poet.
[19] Tacit. annal. lib. 14.

Had I been a Spanish Cervantes, and, with success equal to that comic author, had destroyed the reigning taste of Gothic or Moorish Chivalry, I could afterwards contentedly have seen my burlesque-work itself despised, and set aside; when it had wrought its intended effect, and destroyed those giants and monsters of the brain, against which it was originally designed. Without regard, therefore, to the prevailing relish or taste which, in my own person, I may unhappily experience, when these my miscellaneous works are leisurely examined; I shall proceed still in my endeavour to refine my reader's Palate; whetting and sharpening it, the best I can, for use and practice, in the lower subjects; that by this exercise it may acquire the greater keenness, and be of so much the better effect in subjects of a higher kind, which relate to his chief happiness, his liberty, and manhood.

Supposing me therefore a mere comic-humorist, in respect of those inferior subjects, which, after the manner of my familiar prose-satire, I presume to criticise; may not I be allowed to ask, "whether "there remains not still among us noble Britons, "something of that original barbarous and Gothic "relish, not wholly purged away; when, even at "this hour, romances and gallantries of like sort, "together with works as monstrous of other "kinds, are current, and in vogue, even with "the people who constitute our reputed polite "world?" Need I on this account refer again to

our author[20], where he treats in general of the ſtyle and manner of our modern authors, from the divine to the comedian? What perſon is there of the leaſt judgment or underſtanding, who cannot eaſily, and without the help of a divine, or rigid moraliſt, obſerve the lame condition of our Engliſh Stage; which nevertheleſs is found the rendezvous and chief entertainment of our beſt company, and from whence in all probability our youth will continue to draw their notion of manners, and their taſte of life, more directly and naturally, than from the rehearſals and declamations of a graver Theatre?

Let thoſe whoſe buſineſs it is, advance, as they beſt can, the benefit of that ſacred oratory, which we have lately ſeen and are ſtill like to ſee employed to various purpoſes, and further deſigns than that of inſtructing us in religion or manners. Let them in that high ſcene endeavour to refine our taſte and judgment in ſacred matters. It is the good critic's taſt to amend our common Stage; nor ought this dramatic performance to be decried or ſentenced by thoſe critics of a higher ſphere. The practice and art is honeſt in itſelf. Our foundations are well laid. And in the main, our Engliſh Stage, as has been remarked[21], is capable of the higheſt improvement; as well from the preſent genius of our nation, as from the

[20] *Viz.* in his Advice to authors, treatiſe 3. vol. 1.

[21] Vol. 1. p. 187, 188. *&c.* 193, 194. 224, 237, 238, 239.

rich ore of our early poets in this kind. But faults are easier imitated than beauties.

We find, indeed, our Theatre become of late the subject of a growing criticism. We hear it openly complained, " that in our newer plays, " as well as in our older, in comedy as well as " tragedy, the stage presents a proper scene of " uproar; — duels fought; swords drawn, many " of a side; wounds given, and sometimes dressed " too; the surgeon called, and the patient probed " and tented upon the spot: That in our tragedy, " nothing is so common as wheels, racks, and " gibbets properly adorned; executions decently " performed; headless bodies, and bodiless heads, " exposed to view: battles fought; murders " committed; and the dead carried off in great " numbers." — Such is our politeness!

Nor are these plays, on this account, the less frequented by either of the sexes: which inclines me to favor the conceit our author has suggested concerning the mutual correspondence and relation between our royal Theatre, and popular Circus or bear-garden[22]. For in the former of these assemblies, it is undeniable that at least the two upper regions or galleries contain such spectators, as indifferently frequent each place of sport. So that it is no wonder we hear such applause resounded on the victories of an Almanzor; when the same parties had possibly, no later than the day before, bestowed their applause as freely on the victorious

[22] Vol. 1. p. 234. &c.

butcher, the Hero of another ſtage: where, amidſt various frays, beſtial and human blood, promiſcuous wounds and ſlaughter, one ſex are obſerved as frequent and as pleaſed ſpectators as the other, and ſometimes not ſpectators only, but actors in the gladiatorian parts. — Theſe congregations, which we may be apt to call Heatheniſh [23], though in reality never known among the politer Heathens, are, in our Chriſtian nation, unconcernedly allowed and tolerated, as no way injurious to religious intereſts; whatever effect they may be found to have on national manners, humanity, and civil life. Of ſuch indulgencies as theſe we hear no complaints. Nor are any aſſemblies, though of the moſt barbarous and enormous kind, ſo offenſive, it ſeems, to men of zeal, as religious aſſemblies of a different faſhion or habit from their own.

I am ſorry to ſay, that though in the many parts of poetry our attempts have been high and noble; yet in general the taſte of wit and letters lies much upon a level with what relates to our ſtage.

I can readily allow to our Britiſh genius what was allowed to the Roman heretofore:

——— *Natura ſublimis et acer:*
Nam ſpirat tragicum ſatis, et feliciter audet [24].

But then I muſt add too, that the exceſſive indul-

[23] Vol. I. p. 232, 233. &c.
[24] Horat. epiſt. I. lib. 2.

gence and favor shown to our authors on account of what their mere genius and flowing vein afford, has rendered them intolerably supine, conceited, and admirers of themselves. The public having once suffered them to take the ascendant, they become, like flattered princes, impatient of contradiction or advice. They think it a disgrace to be criticised, even by a friend; or to reform, at his desire, what they themselves are fully convinced is negligent and uncorrect.

Sed turpem putat in scriptis, metuitque lituram [25].

The limæ labor [26] is the great grievance with our countrymen. An English author would be all genius. He would reap the fruits of art; but without study, pains, or application. He thinks it necessary indeed, lest his learning should be called in question, to show the world that he errs knowingly against the rules of art. And for this reason, whatever pieces he publishes at any time, he seldom fails, in some prefixed apology, to speak in such a manner of criticism and art, as may confound the ordinary reader, and prevent him from taking up a part, which, should he once assume, would prove fatal to the impotent and mean performance.

It were to be wished, that when once our authors had considered of a model or plan, and

[25] Ibid. [26] Ars poet.

attained the knowledge of a whole and parts [27]; when from this beginning they had proceeded to morals, and the knowledge of what is called poetic manners and truth [28]; when they had learned

[27] Ὅλον δὲ ἐστι τὸ ἔχον ἀρχὴν, καὶ μέσον, καὶ τελευτήν. Ἀρχὴ δὲ ἐστιν, ὃ αὐτὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, μὴ μετ' ἄλλο ἐστι· μετ' ἐκεῖνο δ' ἕτερον πέφυκεν εἶναι ἢ γένεσθαι. Τελευτὴ δὲ τἀναντίον, ὃ αὐτὸ μετ' ἄλλο πέφυκεν εἶναι, ἢ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἢ ὡς ἐπιτοπολύ· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἄλλο οὐδέν. Μέσον δὲ, καὶ αὐτὸ μετ' ἄλλο, καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνο ἕτερον. Arist. de poet. cap. 7. And in the following chapter, Μῦθος δ' ἐστὶν ΕΙΣ, οὐχ ὥσπερ τινὲς οἴονται, ἐὰν περὶ ἕνα ᾖ, &c.

Denique sit quod vis simplex duntaxat et Unum.

Horat. de art. poet. See vol. 1. p. 114.

It is an infallible proof of the want of just *integrity* in every writing, from the *epopee* or *heroic* poem down to the familiar epistle, or slightest essay either in *verse* or *prose*, if every several part or portion fits not its proper place so exactly, that the least transposition would be impracticable. Whatever is *episodic*, though perhaps it be *a whole*, and in itself *entire*, yet being inserted, as *a part*, in a work of greater length, it must appear only in its *due place*. And that place alone can be called its *due* one, which alone befits it. If there be any passage in the middle or end which might have stood in the beginning, or any in the beginning which might have stood as well in the middle or end; there is properly in such a piece neither beginning, middle, or end. It is a mere *rhapsody*, not a work. And the more it assumes the air or appearance of *a real work*, the more ridiculous it becomes. See above, p. 21.; and vol. 1. p. 126, 127.

[28] *Respicere exemplar vitæ morumque jubebo*
Doctum imitatorem, et veras hinc ducere voces.

Horat. de arte poet.

The chief of ancient critics, we know, extols *Homer* above all things, for understanding how *to Lie in perfection*; as the passage shows which we have cited above, vol. 1. p. 297. His Lies, according to that master's opinion, and the judgment of many of the

to reject false thought, embarrassing and mixed metaphors, the ridiculous paint in comedy, and

gravest and most venerable writers, were, in themselves, the justest *moral truths*, and exhibitive of the best doctrine and instruction in life and manners. It may be asked perhaps, "How comes the poet "then to draw no single pattern of the kind, no *perfect character*, "in either of his heroic pieces?" I answer, That should he attempt to do it, he would, *as a poet*, be preposterous and false. It is not *the possible*, but the *probable* and *likely*, which must be the poet's guide in *manners*. By this he wins attention, and moves the conscious reader or spectator; who judges best from *within*, by what he naturally feels and experiences in his own heart. The perfection of virtue is from long *art* and *management*, *self-control*, and, as it were, *force on Nature*. But the common auditor or spectator, who seeks pleasure only, and loves to engage his passion, by view of other passion and emotion, comprehends little of the restraints, allays, and corrections, which form this *new* and *artificial creature*. For such indeed is the *truly virtuous man*; whose Art, though ever so *natural* in itself, or justly founded in *reason* and *nature*, is an improvement far beyond the common stamp, or known character of human kind. And thus the completely virtuous and perfect character is *unpoetical* and *false*. Effects must not appear where causes must necessarily remain unknown and incomprehensible. A Hero *without passion* is, in poetry, as absurd as *a* Hero *without life or action*. Now, if *passion* be allowed, *passionate action* must ensue. The same heroic genius and seeming magnanimity which transport us when beheld, are naturally transporting in the lives and manners of *the great*, who are described to us. And thus the able *designer* who feigns in behalf of *truth*, and draws his characters after the *moral rule*, fails not to discover Nature's propensity, and assigns to these high spirits their proper exorbitancy, and inclination to exceed in that tone or species of passion which constitutes the eminent or shining part of each poetical caracter. The passion of an *Achilles* is towards that glory which is acquired by arms and personal valor. In favor of this character, we forgive the generous youth his excess of ardor in the field, and his resentment when injured

the falſe ſublime, and bombaſt in heroic; they would at laſt have ſome regard to numbers, har-

and provoked in council, and by his allies. The paſſion of an *Ulyſſes* is towards that glory which is acquired by prudence, wisdom, and ability in affairs. It is in favor of this character that we forgive him his ſubtle, crafty, and deceitful air; ſince the *intriguing ſpirit*, the *over-reaching manner*, and *over-refinement of art and policy*, are as naturally incident to the experienced and thorough politician, as *ſudden reſentment*, *indiſcreet and rash behaviour*, to the open undeſigning character of a warlike youth. The gigantic force and military toil of an *Ajax*, would not be ſo eaſily credible or engaging, but for the honeſt ſimplicity of his nature, and the heavineſs of his parts and genius. For ſtrength of body being ſo often noted by us, as unattended with equal parts and ſtrength of mind; when we ſee this natural effect expreſſed, and find our ſecret and malicious kind of reaſoning confirmed on this hand, we yield to an *hyperbole* of our poet, on the other. He has afterwards his full ſcope, and liberty of enlarging, and exceeding in the peculiar virtue and excellence of his hero. He may *lie* ſplendidly, raiſe *wonder*, and be as *aſtonishing* as he pleaſes. Every thing will be allowed him in return for this frank allowance. Thus the tongue of a *Neſtor* may work prodigies, whilſt the accompanying allays of a rhetorical fluency, and aged experience, are kept in view. An *Agamemnon* may be admired as a noble and wiſe chief, whilſt a certain princely haughtineſs, a ſtiffneſs and ſtately carriage natural to the character, are repreſented in his perſon, and noted in their ill effects. For thus the *exceſſes* of every character are by the poet *redreſſed*. And the misfortunes naturally attending ſuch exceſſes, being juſtly applied, our paſſions, whilſt in the ſtrongeſt manner engaged and moved, are in the wholeſomeſt and moſt effectual manner corrected and *purged*. Were a man to form himſelf by one ſingle pattern or original, however perfect, he would himſelf be a mere *copy*. But whilſt he draws from various models, he is *original*, *natural*, and *unaffected*. We ſee in outward carriage and behaviour, how ridiculous any one becomes who imitates another, be he ever ſo graceful. They are mean ſpirits who love to copy *merely*. Nothing is agree-

mony, and an ear [29]; and correct, as far as poſſible, the harſh ſounds of our language; in poetry at leaſt, if not in proſe.

But ſo much are our Britiſh poets taken up in ſeeking out that monſtrous ornament which we call rhyme [30]; that it is no wonder if other orna-

able or natural, but what is *original*. Our manners, like our faces, though ever ſo beautiful, muſt differ in their beauty. An over regularity is next to a deformity. And in *a poem* whether *epic* or *dramatic* a complete and *perfect character* is the greateſt *monſter* and of all poetic fictions not only the leaſt *engaging*, but the leaſt *moral* and *improving*.—Thus much by way of remark upon *poetical Truth*, and the juſt fiction or artful *lying* of the able poet, according to the judgment of the *maſter*-critic. What *Horace* expreſſes of the ſame *lying* virtue, is of an eaſier ſenſe, and needs no explanation.

Atque ita mentitur, ſic veris falſa remiſcet,
Primo ne medium, medio ne diſcrepet imum. De arte poet.

The ſame may be obſerved not only in *heroic* draughts, but in the inferior characters of *comedy*.

Quam ſimilis, uterque eſt ſui! Ter. Phorm. act. 3. ſc. 2.

See vol. 1. p. 2. 123. 289. 301. &c. in the notes, at the end.

[29] Vol. 1. p. 188.

[30] The reader, if curious in theſe matters, may ſee *Iſ. Voſſius de viribus rhythmi*; and what he ſays, withal, of ancient *muſic*, and the degrees by which they ſurpaſs us moderns, as has been demonſtrated by late mathematicians of our nation; contrary to a ridiculous notion ſome have had, that becauſe in this, as in all other arts, the ancients ſtudied *ſimplicity*, and affected it as the higheſt perfection in their performances, they were therefore ignorant of *parts* and *ſymphony*. Againſt this, *Iſ. Voſſius*, amongſt other authors, cites the ancient Peripatetic περὶ κόσμου at the beginning of his fifth chapter. To which he might have added another paſſage in chap. 6. The ſuitableneſs of this ancient author's thought to what has been often advanced in the philoſo-

ments, and real graces, are unthought of, and left unattempted. However, since in some parts of poetry, especially in the dramatic, we have been so happy as to triumph over this barbarous taste; it is unaccountable that our poets, who from this privilege ought to undertake some further refinements, should remain still upon the same level as before. It is a shame to our authors, that in their elegant style, and metred prose, there should not be found a peculiar grace and harmony, resulting from a more natural and easy disengagement of their periods, and from a careful avoiding the

phical parts of these volumes, concerning the universal *symmetry*, or union of *the whole*, may make it excusable if we add here the two passages together, in their inimitable original. Ἴσως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων ἡ φύσις γλίχεται, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἀποτελεῖν τὸ σύμφωνον, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων· ὥσπερ ἀμέλει τὸ ἄρρεν συνηγαγὴ πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ, καὶ οὐχ ἑκάτερον πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον, καὶ τὴν πρώτην ὁμόνοιαν διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων συνῆψεν, οὐ διὰ τῶν ὁμοίων. Ἔοικε δὲ καὶ ἡ τέχνη τὴν φύσιν μιμουμένη, τοῦτο ποιεῖν. Ζωγραφία μὲν γὰρ, λευκῶν τε καὶ μελάνων, ὠχρῶν τε καὶ ἐρυθρῶν χρωμάτων ἐγκερασαμένη φύσεις, τὰς εἰκόνας τοῖς προκειμένοις ἀπήλεσε συμφώνους. Μουσικὴ δὲ, ὀξεῖς ἅμα καὶ βαρεῖς, μακρούς τε καὶ βραχεῖς φθόγγους μίξασα, ἐν διαφόροις φωναῖς, μίαν ἀπήλεσεν ἁρμονίαν. Γραμματικὴ δὲ, ἐκ φωνηέντων καὶ ἀφώνων γραμμάτων κράσιν ποιησαμένη, τὴν ὅλην τέχνην ἀπ' αὐτῶν συνεστήσατο. τοῦτο δὲ τοῦτο ἦν καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῷ σκοτεινῷ λεγόμενον Ἡρακλείτῳ. συνάψειας ὅλα καὶ οὐχὶ ὅλα, συμφερόμενον καὶ διαφερόμενον, συνᾶδον καὶ διᾶδον, καὶ ἐκ πάντων ἓν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς πάντα. And in the following passage, Μία δὲ ἐκ πάντων ἁρμονία συναδόντων καὶ χορευόντων κατὰ τον οὐρανὸν, ἐξ ἑνός τε γίνεται, καὶ εἰς ἓν ἀποτήγει. Κόσμον δ' ἐτύμως τὸ σύμπαν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἀκοσμίαν ὀνομάσαις ἄν. Καθάπερ δὲ ἐν χορῷ κορυφαίου καταρξαντος, συνεπηχεῖ πᾶς ὁ χορὸς ἀνδρῶν, ἔστ' ὅτε καὶ γυναικῶν, ἐν διαφόροις φωναῖς ὀξυτέραις καὶ βαρυτέραις, μίαν ἁρμονίαν ἐμμελῆ κεραννύντων, οὕτως ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ τὸ σύμπαν διέποντος ΘΕΟΥ. See vol. 2. p. 175.; and above, p. 150. &c. in the notes.

encounter of the ſhocking conſonants and jarring ſounds to which our language is ſo unfortunately ſubject.

They have of late, it is true, reformed in ſome meaſure the gouty joints and darning-work of whereuntos, wherebys, thereofs, therewiths, and the reſt of this kind; by which complicated periods are ſo curiouſly ſtrung, or hooked on, one to another, after the long-ſpun manner of the bar or pulpit. But to take into conſideration no real accent or cadency of words, no ſound or meaſure of ſyllables; to put together, at one time, a ſet of compounds, of the longeſt Greek or Latin termination; and at another, to let whole verſes, and thoſe too of our heroic and longeſt ſort, paſs currently in monoſyllables; is, methinks, no ſlender negligence. If ſingle verſes at the head, or in the moſt emphatical places, of the moſt conſiderable works, can admit of ſuch a ſtructure, and paſs for truly harmonious and poetical in this negligent form; I ſee no reaſon why more verſes than one or two of the ſame formation, ſhould not be as well admitted; or why an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of theſe well ſtrung monoſyllables might not be allowed to clatter after one another, like the hammers of a paper-mill, without any breach of muſic, or prejudice to the harmony of our language. But if perſons who have gone no farther than a ſmith's anvil to gain an ear, are yet likely, on fair trial, to find a plain defect in theſe ten monoſyllable heroics; it would follow, methinks, that even a proſe-author, who attempts to write politely,

ſhould endeavour to confine himſelf within thoſe bounds, which can never, without breach of harmony, be exceeded in any juſt metre, or agreeable pronunciation.

Thus have I ventured to arraign the authority of thoſe ſelf-privileged writers, who would exempt themſelves from criticiſm, and ſave their ill-acquired reputation, by the decrial of an art, on which the cauſe and intereſt of wit and letters abſolutely depend. Be it they themſelves, or their great patrons in their behalf, who would thus arbitrarily ſupport the credit of ill writings; the attempt, I hope, will prove unſucceſsful. Be they moderns or ancients, foreigners or natives, ponderous and auſtere writers, or airy and of the humorous kind; whoever takes refuge here, or ſeeks protection hence; whoever joins his party or intereſt to this cauſe; it appears from the very fact and endeavour alone, that there is juſt ground to ſuſpect ſome inſufficiency or impoſture at the bottom. And on this account the reader, if he be wiſe, will the rather redouble his application and induſtry, to examine the merit of his aſſuming author. If, as reader and judge, he dare once aſſert that liberty to which we have ſhown him juſtly intitled, he will not eaſily be threatened or ridiculed out of the uſe of his examining capacity, and native privilege of criticiſm.

It was to this art, ſo well underſtood and practiſed heretofore, that the wiſe ancients owed whatever was conſummate and perfect in their productions. It is to the ſame art we owe the recovery

of letters in these latter ages. To this alone we must ascribe the recognition of ancient manuscripts, the discovery of what is spurious, and the discernment of whatever is genuine of those venerable remains which have passed through such dark periods of ignorance, and raised us to the improvements we now make in every science. It is to this art, that even the sacred authors themselves owe their highest purity and correctness. So sacred ought the art itself to be esteemed; when from its supplies alone is formed that judicious and learned strength by which the defenders of our holy religion are able so successfully to refute the Heathens, Jews, sectarians, heretics, and other enemies or opposers of our primitive and ancient faith.

But having thus, after our author's example, asserted the use of criticism, in all literate works, from the main frame or plan of every writing, down to the minutest particle; we may now proceed to exercise this art upon our author himself, and, by his own rules, examine him in this his last treatise; reserving still to ourselves the same privilege of variation, and excursion into other subjects, the same episodic liberty, and right of wandering, which we have maintained in the preceding chapters.

CHAP. II.

Generation and ſucceſſion of our national and modern wit. —— *Manners of the* proprietors. —— *Corporation and joint ſtock.* —— *Statute againſt* criticiſm. *A coffeehouſe-committee.* —— *Mr* Bays. —— *Other* Bays's *in divinity.* —— *Cenſure of our author's* dialogue-piece; *and of the manner of* dialogue-*writing uſed by reverend wits.*

ACCORDING to the common courſe of practice in our age, we ſeldom ſee the character of writer and that of critic united in the ſame perſon. There is, I know, a certain ſpecies of authors who ſubſiſt wholly by the criticiſing or commenting practice upon others, and can appear in no other form beſides what this employment authorizes them to aſſume. They have no original character, or firſt part; but wait for ſomething which may be called a work, in order to graft upon it, and come in for ſhares, at ſecond hand.

The penmen of this capacity and degree are, from their function and employment, diſtinguiſhed by the title of anſwerers. For it happens in the world, that there are readers of a genius and ſize juſt fitted to theſe anſwering authors. Theſe, if they teach them nothing elſe, will teach them, they think, to criticiſe. And though the new practiſing critics are of a ſort unlikely ever to un-

derstand any original book or writing; they can understand, or at least remember and quote the subsequent reflections, flouts, and jeers, which may accidentally be made on such a piece, Wherever a gentleman of this sort happens at any time to be in company, you shall no sooner hear a new book spoken of, than it will be asked, "Who "has answered it?" or, "When is there an answer "to come out?"—Now, the answer, as our gentleman knows, must needs be newer than the book. And the newer a thing is, the more fashionable still, and the genteeler the subject of discourse. For this the bookseller knows how to fit our gentleman to a nicety: for he has commonly an answer ready bespoke, and perhaps finished, by the time his new book comes abroad. And it is odds but our fashionable gentleman, who takes both together, may read the latter first, and drop the other for good and all.

But of these answering wits, and the manner of rejoinders, and reiterate replies, we have said what is sufficient in a former Miscellany [1]. We need only remark in general, "That it is necessary a writing critic should understand how to "write. And though every writer is not bound "to show himself in the capacity of a critic every "writing critic is bound to show himself capable "of being a writer. For if he be apparently impotent in this latter kind, he is to be denied all "title or character in the other."

[1] *Viz.* supra, Misc. 1. chap. 2.

To

To cenſure merely what another perſon writes; to twitch, ſnap, ſnub up, or banter; to torture ſentences and phraſes, turn a few expreſſions into ridicule, or write what is now-a-days called an anſwer to any piece, is not ſufficient to conſtitute what is properly eſteemed a writer, or author in due form. For this reaſon, though there are many anſwerers ſeen abroad, there are few or no critics or ſatiriſts. But whatever may be the ſtate of controverſy in our religion or politic concerns; it is certain, that, in the mere literate world, affairs are managed with a better underſtanding between the principal parties concerned. The writers or authors in poſſeſſion, have an eaſier time than any miniſtry, or religious party, which is uppermoſt. They have found a way, by decrying all criticiſm in general, to get rid of their diſſenters, and prevent all pretences to further reformation in their ſtate. The critic is made to appear diſtinct, and of another ſpecies; wholly different from the writer. None who have a genius for writing, and can perform with any ſucceſs, are preſumed ſo ill-natured or illiberal, as to endeavour to ſignalize themſelves in criticiſm.

It is not difficult, however, to imagine why this practical difference between writer and critic has been ſo generally eſtabliſhed amongſt us, as to make the provinces ſeem wholly diſtinct and irreconcileable. The forward wits, who, without waiting their due time, or performing their requiſite ſtudies, ſtart up in the world as authors, having with little pains or judgment, and by the ſtrength of

fancy merely, acquired a name with mankind, can, on no account, afterwards ſubmit to a decrial or diſparagement of thoſe raw works to which they owed their early character and diſtinction. Ill would it fare with them indeed, if, on theſe tenacious terms, they ſhould venture upon criticiſm, or offer to move that ſpirit which would infallibly give ſuch diſturbance to their eſtabliſhed title.

Now we may conſider, that in our nation, and eſpecially in our preſent age, whilſt wars, debates, and public convulſions, turn our minds ſo wholly upon buſineſs and affairs; the better geniuſes being in a manner neceſſarily involved in the active ſphere, on which the general eye of mankind is ſo ſtrongly fixed; there muſt remain in the theatre of wit, a ſufficient vacancy of place: and the quality of actor upon that ſtage, muſt, of conſequence, be very eaſily attainable, and at a low price of ingenuity or underſtanding.

The perſons therefore who are in poſſeſſion of the prime parts in this deſerted theatre, being ſuffered to maintain their ranks and ſtations in full eaſe, have naturally a good agreement and underſtanding with their fellow-wits. Being indebted to the times for this happineſs, that, with ſo little induſtry or capacity, they have been able to ſerve the nation with wit, and ſupply the place of real diſpenſers and miniſters of the Muſes treaſures, they muſt neceſſarily, as they have any love for themſelves, or fatherly affection for their works, conſpire with one another, to preſerve their common intereſt of indolence, and juſtify their remiſſneſs,

incorrectness, insipidness, and downright ignorance of all literate art, or just poetic beauty.

Magna inter molles concordia [2].

For this reason, you see them mutually courteous and benevolent; gracious and obliging beyond measure; complimenting one another interchangeably, at the head of their works, in recommendatory verses, or in separate panegyrics, essays, and fragments of poetry; such as in the miscellaneous collections, our yearly retail of wit, we see curiously compacted, and accommodated to the relish of the world. Here the tyrocinium of geniuses is annually displayed. Here, if you think fit, you may make acquaintance with the young offspring of wits, as they come up gradually under the old; with due courtship, and homage, paid to those high predecessors of fame, in hope of being one day admitted, by turn, into the noble order, and made wits by patent and authority.

This is the young fry which you may see busily surrounding the grown poet, or chief playhouse-author, at a coffeehouse. They are his guards; ready to take up arms for him; if, by some presumptuous critic he is at any time attacked. They are indeed the very shadows of their immediate predecessor, and represent the same features, with some small alteration perhaps for the worse. They are sure to aim at nothing above or beyond their ma-

[2] Juvenal, sat. 2. vers. 27.

ſter; and would, on no account, give him the leaſt jealouſy of their aſpiring to any degree or order of writing above him. From hence that harmony and reciprocal eſteem, which, on ſuch a bottom as this, cannot fail of being perfectly well eſtabliſhed among our poets: the age, mean while, being after this manner hopefully provided, and ſecure of a conſtant and like ſucceſſion of meritorious wits, in every kind!

If by chance a man of ſenſe, unapprized of the authority of theſe high powers, ſhould venture to accoſt the gentlemen of this fraternity, at ſome coffeehouſe-committee, whilſt they were taken up in mutual admiration, and the uſual praiſe of their national and contemporary wits; it is poſſible he might be treated with ſome civility, whilſt he inquired, for ſatisfaction ſake, into the beauties of thoſe particular works ſo unanimouſly extolled. But ſhould he preſume to aſk in general, "Why is our "epic or dramatic, our eſſay or common proſe no "better executed?" or, "Why in particular "does ſuch or ſuch a reputed wit write ſo incor-"rectly, and with ſo little regard to juſtneſs of "thought or language?" the anſwer would preſently be given, "That we Engliſhmen are not "tied up to ſuch rigid rules as thoſe of the ancient "Grecian, or modern French critics."

"Be it ſo, Gentlemen! it is your good plea-"ſure. Nor ought any one to diſpute it with you. "You are maſters, no doubt, in your own coun-"try. But, Gentlemen! the queſtion here is not "what your authority may be over your own

" writers. You may have them of what fashion
" or size of wit you please; and allow them to
" entertain you at the rate you think sufficient and
" satisfactory. But can you, by your good plea-
" sure, or the approbation of your highest patrons,
" make that to be either wit or sense, which would
" otherwise have been bombast and contradiction?
" If your poets are still Mr Bays [s], and your prose-
" authors Sir Rogers, without offering at a bet-

[s] To see the incorrigibleness of our poets in their pedantic manner, their vanity, defiance of criticism, their rhodomontade, and poetical bravado; we need only turn to our famous poet-laureat, the very Mr *Bays* himself, in one of his latest and most valued pieces, writ many years after the ingenious author of the *Rehearsal* had drawn his picture. " I have been listening, " says our poet, in his preface to *Don Sebastian*, " what objections had been made against the con-
" duct of the play; but found them all so trivial, that if I should
" name them, a true critic would imagine that I played booty.—
" Some are pleased to say the writing is dull. But *ætatem habet, de*
" *se loquatur*. Others, that the double poison is unnatural. Let the
" common received opinion, and *Ausonius's* famous epigram, answer
" that. Lastly, a more ignorant sort of creatures than either of the
" former, maintain that the character of *Dorax* is not only unnatu-
" ral, but inconsistent with itself. Let them read the play, and
" think again. — A longer reply is what those cavillers deserve
" not. But I will give them and their fellows to understand, that
" the Earl of * * * was pleased to read the tragedy twice over be-
" fore it was acted, and did me the favor to send me word, that I
" had written beyond any of my former plays, and that he was dis-
" pleased any thing should be cut away. If I have not reason to
" prefer his single judgment to a whole faction, let the world be
" judge: for the opposition is the same with that of *Lucan's* hero
" against an army, *concurrere. bellum atque virum.* I think I may
" modestly conclude, " &c.

Thus he goes on, to the very end, in the self-same strain. Who, after this, can ever say of the *Rehearsal*-author, that his picture of our poet was overcharged, or the national humor wrong described?

" ter manner; muft it follow that the manner itfelf
" is good, or the wit genuine? —— What fay you,
" Gentlemen! to this new piece? — Let us ex-
" amine thefe lines which you call fhining! this
" ftring of fentences which you call clever! this
" pile of metaphors which you call fublime! ——
" Are you unwilling, Gentlemen! to ftand the
" teft? Do you defpife the examination?

" Sir! — fince you are pleafed to take this li-
" berty with us; may we prefume to afk you a
" queftion? O Gentlemen! as many as you
" pleafe: I fhall be highly honored. Why
" then, pray Sir! inform us, whether you have
" ever writ? Very often, Gentlemen!,
" efpecially on a poft-night. But have you
" writ, for inftance, Sir! a play, a fong, an ef-
" fay, or a paper, as, by way of eminence, the
" current pieces of our weekly wits are generally
" ftyled? Something of this kind I may per-
" haps, Gentlemen! have attempted, though with-
" out publifhing my work. But pray, Gentlemen!
" what is my writing, or not writing, to the quef-
" tion in hand? Only this, Sir! and you
" may fairly take our words for it; that, when-
" ever you publifh, you will find the town againft
" you. Your piece will infallibly be condemned.
" So let it. But for what reafon, Gen-
" tlemen? I am fure you never faw the piece.
" No, Sir. But you are a critic. And we know by
" certain experience, that when a critic writes accor-
" ding to rule and method, he is fure never to
" hit the Englifh tafte. Did not Mr. R——, who

" criticiſed our Engliſh tragedy, write a ſorry one
" of his own? If he did, Gentlemen! it
" was his own fault, not to know his genius better.
" But is his criticiſm the leſs juſt on this account?
" If a muſician performs his part well in the hard-
" eſt ſymphonies, he muſt neceſſarily know the
" notes, and underſtand the rules of harmony and
" muſic. But muſt a man therefore, who has an
" ear, and has ſtudied the rules of muſic, of ne-
" ceſſity have a voice or hand? Can no one poſ-
" ſibly judge a fiddle, but who is himſelf a fiddler?
" Can no one judge a picture, but who is himſelf
" a layer of colors?" ——

Thus far our rational gentleman perhaps might venture, before his coffeehouſe-audience. Had I been at his elbow to prompt him as a friend, I ſhould hardly have thought fit to remind him of any thing further. On the contrary, I ſhould have rather taken him aſide, to inform him of this cabal, and eſtabliſhed corporation of wit; of their declared averſion to criticiſm, and of their known laws and ſtatutes in that caſe made and provided. I ſhould have told him, in ſhort, that learned arguments would be miſpent on ſuch as theſe; and that he would find little ſucceſs, though he ſhould ever ſo plainly demonſtrate to the gentlemen of this ſize of wit and underſtanding, " that the greateſt maſters
" of art, in every kind of writing, were eminent
" in the critical practice." But that they really were ſo, witneſs, among the ancients, their greateſt philoſophers *, whoſe critical pieces lie inter-

* *Viz. Plato, Ariſtotle.* See, in particular, the *Phædrus* of

mixed with their profound philosophical works, and other politer tracts ornamentally writ, for public use [5]. Witness in history and rhetoric, Isocrates, Dionysius Halicarnasseus, Plutarch, and the corrupt Lucian himself; the only one perhaps of these authors whom our gentlemen may, in some modern translation, have looked into, with any curiosity or delight. To these among the Romans we may add Cicero, Varro, Horace, Quintilian, Pliny, and many more.

Among the moderns, a Boileau and a Corneille are sufficient precedents in the case before us. They applied their criticism with just severity, even to their own works. This indeed is a manner hardly practicable with the poets of our own nation. It would be unreasonable to expect of them, that they should bring such measures in use, as being applied to their works, would discover them to be wholly deformed and disproportionable. It is no wonder therefore if we have so little of this critical genius extant, to guide us in our taste. It is no wonder if what is generally current in this kind, lies in a manner buried, and in disguise under burlesque, as particularly in the witty comedy of a noble author of this last age [6]. To the shame, however, of our professed wits and enterprisers in the higher spheres

the former; where an entire piece of the orator *Lysias* is criticised in form.

[5] The distinction of treatises was into the ἀκροαματικοὶ, and ἐξωτερικοὶ.

[6] The *Rehearsal*. See vol. 1. p. 224. and just above, p. 229. in the notes.

of poetry, it may be obſerved, that they have not wanted good advice and inſtruction of the graver kind, from as high a hand in reſpect of quality and character: ſince one of the juſteſt of our modern poems, and ſo confeſſed even by our poets themſelves, is a ſhort criticiſm, and art of poetry; by which if they themſelves were to be judged, they muſt in general appear no better than mere bunglers, and void of all true ſenſe and knowledge in their art. But if in reality both critic and poet, confeſſing the juſtice of theſe rules of art, can afterwards, in practice, condemn and approve, perform and judge, in a quite different manner from what they acknowledge juſt and true; it plainly ſhows, that, though perhaps we are not indigent in wit, we want what is of more conſequence, and can alone raiſe wit to any dignity or worth; even plain honeſty, manners, and a ſenſe of that moral truth, on which, as has been often expreſſed in theſe volumes [7], poetic truth and beauty muſt naturally depend.

Qui didicit patriæ quid debeat, et quid amicis,
Quo ſit amore parens, quo frater amandus et hoſpes,
Quod ſit conſcripti, quod judicis officium, ——
—— —— —— —— *ille profecto*
Reddere perſonæ ſcit convenientia cuique [8]

As for this ſpecies of morality which diſtinguiſhes

[7] *Viz.* vol. 1. p. 179. *&c.* and 239. & 289. *&c.* So above, p. 214. and in the notes.

[8] Horat. de art. poet. ℣ 312. *&c.*

the civil offices of life, and describes each becoming personage or character in this scene; so necessary it is for the poet and polite author to be apprized of it, that even the divine himself may with juster pretence be exempted from the knowledge of this sort. The composer of religious discourses has the advantage of that higher scene of mystery, which is above the level of human commerce. It is not so much his concern or business to be agreeable. And often when he would endeavour it, he becomes more than ordinarily displeasing. His theatre, and that of the polite world, are very different: insomuch that in a reverend author, or declaimer of this sort, we naturally excuse the ignorance of ordinary decorum, in what relates to the affairs of our inferior temporal world. But for the poet or genteel writer, who is of this world merely, it is a different case. He must be perfect in this moral science. We can easily bear the loss of indifferent poetry or essay. A good bargain it were, could we get rid of every moderate performance in this kind. But were we obliged to hear only excellent sermons, and to read nothing, in the way of devotion, which was not well writ; it might possibly go hard with many Christian people, who are at present such attentive auditors and readers. Established pastors have a right to be indifferent. But voluntary discoursers and attempters in wit or poetry, are as intolerable, when they are indifferent, as either fiddlers or painters:

—— *Poterat duci quia cœna ſine iſtis* [9]

Other Bays and poetaſters may be lawfully baited; though we patiently ſubmit to our Bays in divinity.

Had the author of our ſubject-treatiſes conſidered thoroughly of theſe literate affairs [10], and found how the intereſt of wit ſtood at preſent in our nation, he would have had ſo much regard ſurely to his own intereſt, as never to have writ, unleſs either in the ſingle capacity of mere critic, or that of author in form. If he had reſolved never to produce a regular or legitimate piece, he might pretty ſafely have writ on ſtill after the rate of his firſt volume, and mixed manner. He might have been as critical, as ſatirical, or as full of raillery, as he had pleaſed. But to come afterwards as a grave actor upon the ſtage, and expoſe himſelf to criticiſm in his turn, by giving us a work or two in form, after the regular manner of compoſition, as we ſee in this ſecond volume; this, I think, was no extraordinary proof of his judgment or ability, in what related to his own credit and advantage.

One of theſe formal pieces, the Inquiry already examined, we have found to be wholly after the manner which in one of his critical pieces he calls the methodic. But his next piece, the Moraliſts, which we have now before us, muſt, according

[9] Hor. ars poet. ℣ 376. [10] Supra, p. 112. 157, 158.

to his own rules [11], be reckoned as an undertaking of greater weight. It is not only, at the bottom, as ſyſtematical, didactic, and preceptive, as that other piece of formal ſtructure; but it aſſumes withal another garb, and more faſhionable turn of wit. It conceals what is ſcholaſtical. under the appearance of a polite work. It aſpires to dialogue, and carries with it not only thoſe poetic features of the pieces anciently called mimes; but it attempts to unite the ſeveral perſonages and characters in one action, or ſtory, within a determinate compaſs of time, regularly divided, and drawn into different and proportioned ſcenes: and this too with variety of ſtyle; the ſimple, comic, rhetorical, and even the poetic or ſublime; ſuch as is the apteſt to run into enthuſiaſm and extravagance. So much is our author, by virtue of this piece [12], a poet in due form, and by a more

Vol. I. p. 167. &c. and p. 220, 221.

[12] That he is conſcious of this, we may gather from that line or two of advertiſement, which ſtands at the beginning of his firſt edition. "As for the characters and incidents, they are neither wholly feigned," ſays he, "nor wholly true: but according to the "liberty allowed in the way of Dialogue, the principal matters "are founded upon truth, and the reſt as near reſembling as may "be. It is *a ſceptic* recites; and the hero of the piece paſſes for "*an enthuſiaſt*. If a perfect character be wanting, it is the ſame "caſe here, as with the poets in ſome of their beſt pieces. And "this ſurely is a ſufficient warrant for the author of a Philo-"ſophical Romance. —— Thus our author himſelf, who, to conceal, however, his ſtrict imitation of the ancient *poetic* Dialogue, has prefixed an auxiliary title to his work, and given it the ſirname of Rhapsody; as if it were merely of that *eſſay* or

apparent claim, than if he had writ a play, or dramatic piece, in as regular a manner, at leaſt, as any known at preſent on our ſtage.

It appears, indeed, that as high as our author, in his critical capacity, would pretend to carry the refined manner and accurate ſimplicity of the ancients, he dares not, in his own model and principal performance, attempt to unite his philoſophy in one ſolid and uniform body, nor carry on his argument in one continued chain or thread. Here our author's timorouſneſs is viſible. In the very plan or model of his work, he is apparently put to a hard ſhift to contrive how or with what probability he might introduce men of any note or

mixed kind of works, which come abroad with an affected air of negligence and irregularity. But whatever our author may have affected in his *title-page*, it was ſo little his intention to write after that model of incoherent workmanship, that it appears to be ſorely againſt his will, if this *dialogue-piece* of his has not the juſt character, and correct form of thoſe ancient *poems* deſcribed. He would gladly have conſtituted One ſingle *action* and *time*, ſuitable to the juſt ſimplicity of thoſe dramatic works. And this, one would think, was eaſy enough for him to have done. He needed only to have brought his firſt ſpeakers immediately into action, and ſaved the *narrative* or *recitative* part of *Philocles to Palemon*, by producing them as ſpeaking perſonages upon his ſtage. The ſcene all along might have been *the park*. From the early evening to the late hour of night, that the two gallants withdrew to their town-apartments, there was ſufficient time for the narrator *Philocles* to have *recited* the whole tranſaction of the ſecond and third part; which would have ſtood throughout as it now does: only at the concluſion, when the *narrative* or *recitative part* had ceaſed, the *ſimple* and *direct* Dialogue would have again returned, to grace the *exit*. By this means the *temporal* as well as *local* unity of the

fashion, reasoning expressly and purposely [13], without play or trifling, for two or three hours together, on mere philosophy and morals. He finds these subjects, as he confesses, so wide of common conversation, and, by long custom, so appropriated to the school, the university-chair, or pulpit, that he thinks it hardly safe or practicable to treat of them elsewhere, or in a different tone. He is forced therefore to raise particular machines, and constrain his principal characters, in order to carry a better face, and bear himself out against the appearance of pedantry. Thus his gentleman-philosopher Theocles, before he enters into his real character, becomes a feigned preacher. And even when his real character comes on, he hardly dares stand it out; but to deal the better with his sceptic friend, he falls again to personating, and takes up the humor of the poet and enthusiast. Palemon the man of quality, and who is first introduced as speaker in the piece, must, for fashion-sake, appear in love, and under a kind of melancholy produced by some misadventures in the world. How else should he be supposed so serious? Philocles his friend, an airy gentleman of the world, and a thorough rallyer, must have a home-charge upon him, and feel the anger of his grave friend before he can be supposed grave enough to

piece had been preserved. Nor had our author been necessitated to commit that *anachronism*, of making his first part *in order*, to be last *in time*.

[13] Vol. 1. p. 172. &c.

enter into a philoſophical diſcourſe. A quarter of an hour's reading muſt ſerve to repreſent an hour or two's debate. And a new ſcene preſenting itſelf, ever and anon, muſt give refreſhment, it ſeems, to the faint reader, and remind him of the characters and buſineſs going on.

It is in the ſame view that we miſcellanarian authors, being fearful of the natural laſſitude and ſatiety of our indolent reader, have prudently betaken ourſelves to the way of chapters and contents; that as the reader proceeds, by frequent intervals of repoſe, contrived on purpoſe for him, he may from time to time be advertiſed of what is yet to come, and be tempted thus to renew his application.

Thus in our modern plays we ſee, almoſt in every other leaf, deſcriptions or illuſtrations of the action, not in the poem itſelf, or in the mouth of the actors; but by the poet, in his own perſon; in order, as appears, to help out a defect of the text, by a kind of marginal note, or comment, which renders theſe pieces of a mixed kind between the narrative and dramatic. It is in this faſhionable ſtyle, or manner of dumb ſhow, that the reader finds the action of the piece more amazingly expreſſed than he poſſibly could by the lines of the drama itſelf, where the parties alone are ſuffered to be ſpeakers.

It is out of the ſame regard to eaſe, both in reſpect of writer and reader, that we ſee long characters and deſcriptions at the head of moſt dramatic pieces, to inform us of the relations, kindred,

interests, and designs of the *dramatis personæ*; this being of the highest importance to the reader, that he may the better understand the plot, and find out the principal characters and incidents of the piece; which otherwise could not possibly discover themselves, as they are read in their due order. And to do justice to our play-readers, they seldom fail to humor our poets in this respect, and read over the characters with strict application, as a sort of grammar or key, before they enter on the piece itself. I know not whether they would do so much for any philosophical piece in the world. Our author seems very much to question it, and has therefore made that part easy enough which relates to the distinction of his characters, by making use of the narrative manner: though he had done as well, perhaps, not to have gone out of the natural plain way, on this account. For with those to whom such philosophical subjects are agreeable, it could be thought no laborious task to give the same attention to characters in dialogue, as is given at the first entrance by every reader to the easiest play, composed of fewest and plainest personages. But for those who read these subjects with mere supineness and indifference, they will as much begrudge the pains of attending to the characters thus particularly pointed out, as if they had only been discernible by inference and deduction from the mouth of the speaking parties themselves.

More reasons are given by our author himself[14],

[14] Vol. 2. p. 153.

for

for his avoiding the direct way of dialogue; which at present lies so low, and is used only now and then in our party-pamphlets, or new-fashioned theological essays. For of late, it seems, the manner has been introduced into church-controversy, with an attempt of raillery and humor, as a more successful method of dealing with heresy and infidelity. The burlesque-divinity grows mightily in vogue. And the cried-up answers to heterodox discourses are generally such as are written in drollery, or with resemblance of the facetious and humorous language of conversation.

Joy to the reverend authors who can afford to be thus gay, and condescend to correct us in this lay-wit. The advances they make in behalf of piety and manners, by such a popular style, are doubtless found, upon experience, to be very considerable. As these reformers are nicely qualified to hit the air of breeding and gentility, they will in time, no doubt, refine their manner, and improve this jocular method, to the edification of the polite world; who have been so long seduced by the way of raillery and wit. They may do wonders by their comic Muse, and may thus, perhaps, find means to laugh gentlemen into their religion, who have unfortunately been laughed out of it. For what reason is there to suppose, that orthodoxy should not be able to laugh as agreeably, and with as much refinedness, as heresy or infidelity?

At present, it must be owned, the characters, or personages, employed by our new orthodox

dialogists, carry with them little proportion or coherence; and in this respect may be said to suit perfectly with that figurative metaphorical style and rhetorical manner in which their logic and arguments are generally couched. Nothing can be more complex or multiform than their moral draughts or sketches of humanity. These, indeed, are so far from representing any particular man, or order of men, that they scarce resemble any thing of the kind. It is by their names only that these characters are figured. Though they bear different titles, and are set up to maintain contrary points; they are found, at the bottom, to be all of the same side; and, notwithstanding their seeming variance, to co-operate in the most officious manner with the author, towards the display of his own proper wit, and the establishment of his private opinion and maxims. They are indeed his very legitimate and obsequious puppets; as like real men in voice, action, and manners, as those wooden or wire engines of the lower stage. Philotheus and Philatheus; Philautus and Philalethes, are of one and the same order: just tallies to one another: questioning and answering in concert, and with such a sort of alternative as is known in a vulgar play, where one person lies down blindfold, and presents himself, as fair as may be, to another, who, by favor of the company, or the assistance of his good fortune, deals his companion many a sound blow, without being once challenged, or brought into his turn of lying down.

There is the same curious mixture of chance,

and elegant viciſſitude, in the ſtyle of theſe mock-perſonages of our new theological drama: with this difference only, "that after the poor phantom "or ſhadow of an adverſary has ſaid as little for "his cauſe as can be imagined, and given as ma-"ny opens and advantages as could be deſired, "he lies down for good and all, and paſſively "ſubmits to the killing ſtrokes of his unmerciful "conqueror."

Hardly, as I conceive, will it be objected to our Moraliſt, the author of the philoſophic dialogue above, "That the perſonages who ſuſtain "the ſceptical or objecting parts, are over tame "and tractable in their diſpoſition." Did I perceive any ſuch foul dealing in his piece, I ſhould ſcarce think it worthy of the criticiſm here beſtowed. For in this ſort of writing, where perſonages are exhibited, and natural converſation ſet in view; if characters are neither tolerably preſerved, nor manners with any juſt ſimilitude deſcribed; there remains nothing but what is too groſs and monſtrous for criticiſm or examination.

It will be alledged, perhaps, in anſwer to what is here advanced, "That ſhould a dialogue be "wrought up to the exactneſs of theſe rules, it "ought to be condemned as the worſe piece, for "affording the infidel or ſceptic ſuch good quarter, "and giving him the full advantage of his argu-"ment and wit."

But to this I reply, That either dialogue ſhould never be attempted; or if it be, the parties ſhould appear natural, and ſuch as they really are. If

we paint at all, we ſhould endeavour to paint like life, and draw creatures as they are knowable, in their proper ſhapes and better features; not in metamorphoſis, not mangled, lame, diſtorted, awkward forms, and impotent chimeras. Atheiſts have their ſenſe and wits, as other men; or why is Atheiſm ſo often challenged in thoſe of the better rank? why charged ſo often to the account of wit and ſubtle reaſoning?

Were I to adviſe theſe authors, towards whom I am extremely well affected on account of their good-humored zeal, and the ſeeming ſociableneſs of their religion; I ſhould ſay to them, "Gentlemen! be not ſo cautious of furniſhing your "repreſentative Sceptic with too good arguments, "or too ſhrewd a turn of wit or humor. Be "not ſo fearful of giving quarter. Allow your "adverſary his full reaſon, his ingenuity, ſenſe, "and art. Truſt to the chief character or Hero of "your piece. Make him as dazzling bright as "you are able. He will undoubtedly overcome "the utmoſt force of his opponent, and diſpel "the darkneſs or cloud which the adverſary may "unluckily have raiſed. But if, when you have "fairly wrought up your antagoniſt to his due "ſtrength and cogniſable proportion, your chief "character cannot afterwards prove a match for "him, or ſhine with a ſuperior brightneſs; whoſe "fault is it? — the ſubject's? — This, I hope, "you will never allow. — Whoſe, therefore, "beſide your own? — Beware then, and conſider "well you ſtrength and maſterſhip in this manner

" of writing, and in the qualifying practice of " the polite world, ere you attempt these accurate " and refined limnings or portraitures of mankind, " or offer to bring gentlemen on the stage. For " if real gentlemen seduced, as you pretend, and " made erroneous in their religion or philosophy, " discover not the least feature of their real faces " in your looking-glass, nor know themselves, " in the least, by your description; they will " hardly be apt to think they are refuted. How " wittily soever your comedy may be wrought " up, they will scarce apprehend any of that " wit to fall upon themselves. They may laugh " indeed at the diversion you are pleased to give " them: but the laugh perhaps may be different " from what you intend. They may smile secretly " to see themselves thus encountered, and your " scholastic weapons quitted, in favor of this " weak attempt, to master them by their own " arms, and proper ability."

Thus we have performed our critical task, and tried our strength, both on our author, and those of his order, who attempt to write in dialogue, after the active dramatic, mimical or personating way [15]; according to which a writer is properly poetical.

What remains, we shall examine in our succeeding and last chapter.

[15] See vol. 1. p. 167. &c.

CHAP. III.

Of extent *or* latitude *of thought.* — Free-*thinkers.* — *Their cause, and character.* — *Dishonesty, a* half-thought. — *Short-thinking, cause of vice and bigotry.* — *Agreement of* slavery *and* superstition. — Liberty, *civil, moral, spiritual.* — Free-*thinking divines.* — *Representatives* incognito. — *Ambassadors from the moon.* — *Effectual determination of Christian controversy and religious belief.*

BEING now come to the conclusion of my work, after having defended the cause of critics in general, and employed what strength I had in that science upon our adventurous author in particular; I may, according to equity, and with the better grace, attempt a line or two, in defence of that freedom of thought which our author has used, particularly in one of the personages of his last dialogue-treatise.

There is good reason to suppose, that, however, equally framed, or near alike, the race of mankind may appear in other respects, they are not always equal thinkers, or of a like ability in the management of this natural talent which we call Thought. The race, on this account, may therefore justly be distinguished, as they often are, by the appellation of the thinking, and the unthinking sort. The mere unthinking are such as have

not yet arrived to that happy thought by which they ſhould obſerve, "how neceſſary thinking is, "and how fatal the want of it muſt prove to "them." The thinking part of mankind, on the other ſide, having diſcovered the aſſiduity and induſtry requiſite to right thinking, and being already commenced Thinkers upon this foundation, are, in the progreſs of the affair, convinced of the neceſſity of thinking to good purpoſe, and carrying the work to a thorough iſſue. They know, that if they refrain or ſtop once upon this road, they had done as well never to have ſet out. They are not ſo ſupine as to be with-held by mere lazineſs, when nothing lies in the way to interrupt the free courſe and progreſs of their thought.

Some obſtacles, it is true, may, on this occaſion, be pretended. Spectres may come acroſs, and ſhadows of reaſon riſe up againſt Reaſon itſelf. But if men have once heartily eſpouſed the reaſoning or thinking habit, they will not eaſily be induced to lay the practice down; they will not at an inſtant be arreſted, or made to ſtand, and yield themſelves, when they come to ſuch a certain boundary, land-mark, poſt, or pillar, erected here or there, for what reaſon may probably be gueſſed, with the inſcription of a "Ne plus ultra."

It is not, indeed, any authority on earth, as we are well aſſured, can ſtop us on this road, unleſs we pleaſe to make the arreſt, or reſtriction, of our own accord. It is our own thought which

muſt reſtrain our thinking. And whether the reſtraining thought be juſt, how ſhall we ever judge, without examining it freely, and out of all conſtraint? How ſhall we be ſure that we have juſtly quitted Reaſon, as too high and dangerous, too aſpiring or preſumptive; if, through fear of any kind, or ſubmitting to mere command, we quit our very examining thought, and in the moment ſtop ſhort, ſo as to put an end to further thinking on the matter? Is there much difference between this caſe, and that of the obedient beaſts of burden, who ſtop preciſely at their appointed inn, or at whatever point the charioteer, or governor of the reins, thinks fit to give the ſignal for a halt?

I cannot but from hence conclude, that of all ſpecies of creatures ſaid commonly to have brains, the moſt inſipid, wretched, and prepoſterous are thoſe whom, in juſt propriety of ſpeech, we call half-thinkers.

I have often known pretenders to Wit break out into admiration, on the ſight of ſome raw, heedleſs, unthinking gentleman; declaring on this occaſion, that they eſteemed it the happieſt caſe in the world, "never to think, or trouble one's "head with ſtudy or conſideration." This I have always looked upon as one of the higheſt airs of diſtinction, which the ſelf-admiring wits are uſed to give themſelves in public company. Now, the echo or antiphony which theſe elegant exclaimers hope, by this reflection, to draw neceſſarily from their audience, is, "that they themſelves are

" overfreighted with this merchandiſe of thought; " and have not only enough for balaſt, but ſuch " a cargo over and above, as is enough to ſink " them by its weight." I am apt, however, to imagine of theſe gentlemen, that it was never their over-thinking which oppreſſed them; and that if their thought had ever really become oppreſſive to them, they might thank themſelves, for having under-thought, or reaſoned ſhort, ſo as to reſt ſatisfied with a very ſuperficial ſearch into matters of the firſt and higheſt importance.

If, for example, they overlooked the chief enjoyments of life, which are founded in honeſty and a good mind; if they preſumed mere life to be fully worth what its tenacious lovers are pleaſed to rate it at; if they thought public diſtinction, fame, power, an eſtate, or title to be of the ſame value as is vulgarly conceived, or as they concluded, on a firſt thought, without further ſcepticiſm or after-deliberation; it is no wonder, if being in time become ſuch mature dogmatiſts, and well-practiſed dealers in the affairs of what they call a ſettlement or fortune, they are ſo hardly put to it, to find eaſe or reſt within themſelves.

Theſe are the deeply-loaded and over-penſive gentlemen, who eſteeming it the trueſt wit to purſue what they call their intereſt, wonder to find they are ſtill as little at eaſe when they have ſucceeded, as when they firſt attempted to advance.

There can never be leſs ſelf enjoyment than

in these supposed wise characters, these selfish computers of happiness and private good; whose pursuits of interest, whether for this world or another, are attended with the same steady vein of cunning and low thought, sordid deliberations, perverse and crooked fancies, ill dispositions, and false relishes of life and manners. The most negligent undesigning thoughtless rake has not only more of sociableness, ease, tranquillity, and freedom from worldly cares, but in reality more of worth, virtue, and merit, than such grave plodders, and thoughtful gentlemen as these.

If it happens, therefore, that these graver, more circumspect, and deeply-interested gentlemen, have, for their soul's sake, and through a careful provision for hereafter, engaged in certain speculations of Religion; their taste of Virtue, and relish of Life is not the more improved on this account. The thoughts they have on these new subjects of divinity are so biassed, and perplexed, by those half-thoughts and raw imaginations of interest, and worldly affairs, that they are still disabled in the rational pursuit of happiness and good: and being necessitated thus to remain short-thinkers, they have the power to go no further than they are led by those to whom, under such disturbances and perplexities, they apply themselves for cure and comfort.

It has been the main scope and principal end of these volumes, "to assert the reality of a Beauty "and Charm in moral as well as natural subjects, "and to demonstrate the reasonableness of a pro-

" portionate Taſte, and determinate Choice, in " life and manners." The Standard of this kind, and the noted character of moral Truth, appear ſo firmly eſtabliſhed in nature itſelf, and ſo widely diſplayed through the intelligent world, that there is no genius, mind, or thinking principle, which, if I may ſay ſo, is not really conſcious in the caſe. Even the moſt refractory and obſtinate underſtandings are by certain repriſes or returns of thought, on every occaſion, convinced of this exiſtence, and neceſſitated, in common with others, to acknowledge the actual Right and Wrong.

It is evident, that whenſoever the mind, influenced by paſſion or humor, conſents to any action, meaſure, or rule of life contrary to this governing Standard and primary Meaſure of intelligence, it can only be through a weak thought, a ſcantineſs of judgment, and a defect in the application of that unavoidable impreſſion and firſt natural rule of honeſty and worth; againſt which, whatever is advanced, will be of no other moment than to render a life diſtracted, incoherent, full of irreſolution, repentance, and ſelf-diſapprobation.

Thus every immorality and enormity of life can only happen from a partial and narrow view of happineſs and good. Whatever takes from the largeneſs or freedom of thought, muſt of neceſſity detract from that firſt reliſh, or Taſte, on which virtue and worth depend.

For inſtance, when the eye or appetite is eagerly fixed on treaſure, and the moneyed bliſs

of bags and coffers; it is plain there is a kind of fascination in the case. The sight is instantly diverted from all other views of excellence or worth. And here, even the vulgar, as well as the more liberal part of mankind, discover the contracted genius, and acknowledge the narrowness of such a mind.

In luxury and intemperance we easily apprehend how far thought is oppressed, and the mind debarred from just reflection, and from the free examination and censure of its own opinions or maxims, on which the conduct of a life is formed.

Even in that complicated good of vulgar kind, which we commonly call Interest, in which we comprehend both pleasure, riches, power, and other exterior advantages; we may discern how a fascinated sight contracts a genius, and by shortening the view even of that very interest which it seeks, betrays the Knave, and necessitates the ablest and wittiest profelyte of the kind, to expose himself on every emergency and sudden turn.

But above all other enslaving vices, and restrainers of reason and just thought, the most evidently ruinous and fatal to the understanding is that of Superstition, Bigotry, and vulgar Enthusiasm. This passion, not contented like other vices to deceive, and tacitly supplant our reason, professes open war, holds up the intended chains and fetters, and declares its resolution to enslave.

The artificial managers of this human frailty

declaim against free-thought, and latitude of understanding. To go beyond those bounds of thinking which they have prescribed, is by them declared a sacrilege. To them, Freedom of mind, a Mastery of sense, and a Liberty in thought and action, imply debauch, corruption and depravity.

In consequence of their moral maxims, and political establishments, they can indeed advance no better notion of human happiness and enjoyment, than that which is in every respect the most opposite to liberty. It is to them doubtless that we owe the opprobriousness and abuse of those naturally honest appellations of free-livers, free-thinkers, latitudinarians, or whatever other character implies a largeness of mind, and generous use of understanding. Fain would they confound licentiousness in morals, with liberty in thought and action; and make the libertine, who has the least mastery of himself, resemble his direct opposite. For such indeed is the man of resolute purpose and immoveable adherence to Reason, against every thing which passion, prepossession, craft, or fashion can advance in favor of ought else. But here, it seems, the grievance lies. It is thought dangerous for us to be over-rational, or too must masters of ourselves, in what we draw, by just conclusions, from reason only. Seldom therefore do these expositors fail of bringing the thought of Liberty into disgrace. Even at the expense of virtue, and of that very idea of Goodness on which they built the mysteries of their profitable science, they derogate from

morals, and reverse all true philosophy; they refine on selfishness, and explode generosity; promote a slavish obedience in the room of voluntary duty and free service; exalt blind ignorance for devotion, recommend low thought, decry reason, extol voluptuousness, wilfulness, vindicativeness, arbitrariness, vain-glory [1]; and even deify those weak passions which are the disgrace rather than ornament of human nature [2].

But so far is it from the nature of Liberty to indulge such passions as these [3], that whoever acts at any time under the power of any single one, may be said to have already provided for himself an absolute master. And he who lives under the power of a whole race, since it is scarce possible to obey one without the other, must of necessity undergo the worst of servitudes, under the most capricious and domineering lords.

That this is no paradox, even the writers for entertainment can inform us; however others may moralise who discourse or write, as they pretend, for profit and instruction. The Poets even of the wanton sort give ample testimony of this slavery and wretchedness of vice. They may extol voluptuousness to the skies, and point their wit as sharply as they are able against a virtuous state. But when they come afterwards to pay the neces-

[1] Vol. 2. p. 211.; and below, p. 238, 239.
[2] Vol. 1. p. 31.
[3] Vol. 2. p. 207. 358.

ſary tribute to their commanding pleaſures, we hear their pathetic moans, and find the inward diſcord and calamity of their lives. Their example is the beſt of precepts; ſince they conceal nothing, are ſincere, and ſpeak their paſſion out aloud. And it is in this that the very worſt of poets may juſtly be preferred to the generality of modern philoſophers, or other formal writers of a yet more ſpecious name. The Muſes pupils never fail to expreſs their paſſions, and write juſt as they feel. It is not, indeed, in their nature to do otherwiſe, whilſt they indulge their vein, and are under the power of that natural enthuſiaſm which leads them to what is higheſt in their performance. They follow Nature: they move chiefly as ſhe moves in them; without thought of diſguiſing her free motions, and genuine operations, for the ſake of any ſcheme or hypotheſis, which they have formed at leiſure, and in particular narrow views. On this account, though at one time they quarrel perhaps with Virtue, for reſtraining them in their forbidden loves, they can at another time make her ſufficient amends; when with indignation they complain, "that "Merit is neglected, and their worthleſs rival "preferred before them[4]."

Contrane lucrum nil valere candidum
Pauperis ingenium[5]?

[4] Vol. 1. p. 122.
[5] Horat. epod. 11.

And thus even in common elegiac, in ſong, ode, or epigram, conſecrated to pleaſure itſelf, we may often read the dolorous confeſſion in behalf of virtue, and ſee, at the bottom, how the caſe ſtands:

Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo
Eliciuntur.

The airy poets, in theſe fits, can, as freely as the tragedian, condole with Virtue, and bemoan the caſe of ſuffering Merit:

The oppreſſor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
The inſolence of office, and the ſpurns
That patient Merit of the unworthy takes.

The poetic chiefs may give what reaſon they think fit for their humor of repreſenting our mad appetites, eſpecially that of Love, under the ſhape of urchins and wanton boys, ſcarce out of their ſtate of infancy. The original deſign and moral of this fiction, I am perſuaded, was to ſhow us, how little there was of great and heroic in the government of theſe pretenders, how truly weak and childiſh they were in themſelves, and how much lower than mere children we then became, when we ſubmitted ourſelves to their blind tutorage. There was no fear leſt in this fiction the boyiſh nature ſhould be miſconſtrued as innocent and gentle. The ſtorms of paſſion, ſo well known in every kind, kept the tyrannic quality of this

wanton

wanton race ſufficiently in view. Nor could the poetical deſcription fail to bring to mind their miſchievous and malignant play. But when the image of imperious threatening, and abſolute command, was joined to that of ignorance, puerility, and folly; the notion was completed, of that wretched ſlaviſh ſtate, which modern libertines, in conjunction with ſome of a graver character, admire, and repreſent, as the moſt eligible of any.—"Happy condition!" ſays one, "happy life, "that of the indulged paſſions; might we purſue "it!—Miſerable condition! miſerable life, that "of Reaſon and Virtue, which we are bid pur-"ſue[6]!"

It is the ſame, it ſeems, with men, in morals, as in politics. When they have been unhappily born and bred to ſlavery, they are ſo far from being ſenſible of their ſlaviſh courſe of life, or of that ill uſage, indignity, and miſery they ſuſtain, that they even admire their own condition; and being uſed to think ſhort, and carry their views no further than thoſe bounds which were early preſcribed to them, they look upon tyranny as a natural caſe, and think mankind in a ſort of dangerous and degenerate ſtate, when under the power of laws, and in the poſſeſſion of a free government.

We may by theſe reflections come eaſily to apprehend what men they were who firſt brought reaſon and free thought under diſgrace, and made

[6] Vol. 2. p. 211.

the nobleſt of characters, that of a freethinker, to become invidious. It is no wonder if the ſame interpreters would have thoſe alſo to be eſteemed free in their lives, and maſters of good living, who are the leaſt maſters of themſelves, and the moſt impotent in paſſion and humor of all their fellow-creatures. But far be it, and far ſurely will it ever be, from any worthy genius, to be conſenting to ſuch a treacherous language, and abuſe of words. For my own part, I thoroughly confide in the good powers of Reaſon, "That Liberty "and Freedom ſhall never, by any artifice or "deluſion, be made to paſs with me as frightful "ſounds, or as reproachful, or invidious, in any "ſenſe."

I can no more allow that to be free-living, where unlimited paſſion and unexamined fancy govern, than I can allow that to be a free government where the mere people govern, and not the laws. For no people in a civil ſtate can poſſibly be free, when they are otherwiſe governed than by ſuch laws as they themſelves have conſtituted, or to which they have freely given conſent. Now, to be releaſed from theſe, ſo as to govern themſelves by each day's will or fancy, and to vary on every turn the rule and meaſure of government, without reſpect to any ancient conſtitutions or eſtabliſhments, or to the ſtated and fixed rules of equity and juſtice, is as certain ſlavery, as it is violence, diſtraction, and miſery; ſuch as in the iſſue muſt prove the eſtabliſhment of an irretrievable ſtate of tyranny and abſolute dominion.

In the determinations of life, and in the choice and government of actions, he alone is free who has within himself no hindrance, or control, in acting what he himself, by his best judgment, and most deliberate choice, approves. Could vice agree possibly with itself, or could the vicious any way reconcile the various judgments of their inward counsellors; they might with justice perhaps assert their liberty and independency. But whilst they are necessitated to follow least, what, in their sedate hours, they most approve; whilst they are passively assigned, and made over from one possessor to another [7], in contrary extremes, and to different ends and purposes, of which they are themselves wholly ignorant; it is evident, that the more they turn their eyes [8], as many times their are obliged, towards virtue and a free life, the more they must confess their misery and subjection. They discern their own captivity, but not with force and resolution sufficient to redeem themselves, and become their own. Such is the real tragic state, as the old tragedian represents it:

——— *Video meliora proboque,*
Deteriora sequor [9].

[7] *Hunccine an hunc sequeris? Subeat alternus oportet*
Ancipiti obsequio dominos. Pers. sat. 5.

See vol. 1. p. 246, 247. 266, 278. &c.

[8] *Magne Pater divum, sævos punire tyrannos*
Haud alia ratione velis, cum dira libido
Moverit ingenium ferventi tincta veneno,
Virtutem videant, intabescantque relicta. Pers. sat. 3.

[9] Καὶ μανθάνω μὲν οἷα τολμήσω κακά· Θυμὸς δὲ κρείσσων τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων. Eurip. Med. act. 4.

And thus the highest spirits, and most refractory wills, contribute to the lowest servitude and most submissive state. Reason and Virtue alone can bestow Liberty. Vice is unworthy, and unhappy, on this account only, "That it is slavish and "debasing."

Thus have we pleaded the cause of liberty in general; and vindicated, withal, our author's particular freedom, in taking the person of a sceptic, as he has done in this last treatise [10], on which we have so largely paraphrased. We may now perhaps, in compliance with general custom, justly presume to add something in defence of the same kind of freedom we ourselves have assumed in these latter miscellaneous comments; since it would doubtless be very unreasonable and unjust, for those who had so freely played the critic, to expect any thing less than the same free treatment, and thorough criticism in return.

As for the style or language used in these comments; it is very different we find, and varies in proportion with the author commented, and with the different characters and persons frequently introduced in the original treatises. So that there will undoubtedly be scope sufficient for censure and correction.

As for the observations on antiquity, we have in most passages, except the very common and

[10] *Viz.* the Moralists, or *philosophical dialogue*, recited in the person of a *sceptic*, under the name of *Philocles*. See treatise 5. vol. 2. p. 170. &c.

obvious, produced our vouchers and authorities in our own behalf. What may be thought of our judgment or ſenſe in the application of theſe authorities, and in the deductions and reaſonings we have formed from ſuch learned topics, muſt be ſubmitted to the opinion of the wiſe and learned.

In morals, of which the very force lies in a love of diſcipline, and in a willingneſs to redreſs and rectify falſe thought, and erring views; we cannot but patiently wait redreſs and amicable cenſure from the ſole competent judges, the wiſe and good; whoſe intereſt it has been our whole endeavour to advance.

The only ſubject on which we are perfectly ſecure, and without fear of any juſt cenſure or reproach, is that of faith and orthodox belief. For, in the firſt place, it will appear, that, through a profound reſpect, and religious veneration, we have forborn ſo much as to name any of the ſacred or ſolemn myſteries of revelation[11]. And, in the next place, as we can with confidence declare, that we have never in any writing, public or private, attempted ſuch high reſearches, nor have ever in practice acquitted ourſelves otherwiſe than as juſt conformiſts to the lawful church: ſo we may, in a proper ſenſe, be ſaid faithfully and dutifully to embrace thoſe holy myſteries, even in their minuteſt particulars, without the leaſt exception on account of their amazing depth. And though we are ſenſible, that it would be no ſmall hardſhip to deprive

[11] Supra, p. 58. &c.

others of a liberty of examining and searching, with due modesty and submission, into the nature of those subjects; yet as for ourselves, who have not the least scruple whatsoever, we pray not any such grace or favor in our behalf; being fully assured of our own steady orthodoxy, resignation, and entire submission to the truly Christian and catholic doctrines of our holy church, as by law-established.

It is true indeed, that as to critical learning, and the examination of originals, texts, glosses, various readings, styles, compositions, manuscripts, compilements, editions, publications, and other circumstances, such as are common to the sacred books with all other writings and literature, this we have confidently asserted to be a just and lawful study [12]. We have even represented this species of criticism as necessary to the preservation and purity of scripture: that sacred scripture, which has been so miraculously preserved in its successive copies and transcriptions, under the eye, as we must needs suppose, of holy and learned critics, through so many dark ages of Christianity, to these latter times; in which learning has been happily revived.

But if this critical liberty raises any jealousy against us, we shall beg leave of our offended reader to lay before him our case, at the very worst: that if, on such a naked exposition, it be found criminal, we may be absolutely condemned;

[12] Vol. 1. p. 126, 127.

if otherwiſe, acquitted; and with the ſame favor indulged, as others, in the ſame circumſtances, have been before us.

On this occaſion, therefore, we may be allowed to borrow ſomething from the form or manner of our dialogue-author, and repreſent a converſation of the ſame free nature as that recited by him in his night-ſcene [13]; where the ſuppoſed ſceptic or freethinker delivers his thoughts, and reigns in the diſcourſe.

It was in a more conſiderable company, and before a more numerous audience, that not long ſince, a gentleman of ſome rank, one who was generally eſteemed to carry a ſufficient caution and reſerve in religious ſubjects of diſcourſe, as well as an apparent deference to religion, and in particular to the national and eſtabliſhed church, having been provoked by an impertinent attack of a certain violent bigotted party, was drawn into an open and free vindication, not only of free-thinking, but free profeſſing and diſcourſing, in matters relating to religion and faith.

Some of the company, it ſeems, after having made bold with him, as to what they fancied to be his principle, began to urge "the neceſſity of "reducing men to one profeſſion and belief." And ſeveral gentlemen, even of thoſe who paſſed for moderate in their way, ſeemed ſo far to give into this zealot-opinion, as to agree, "That, "notwithſtanding the right method was not yet

[13] Vol. 2. p. 266, 267, 268. &c.

"found, it was highly requisite that some way "should be thought on, to reconcile differences in "opinion; since so long as this variety should last, "Religion, they thought, could never be successfully advanced."

To this our gentleman at first answered coldly, That, "what was impossible to be done, could not, "he thought, be properly pursued as necessary to "be done." But the raillery being ill taken, he was forced at last to defend himself the best he could, upon this point; "That variety of opinion "was not to be cured;" and, "That it was impossible all should be of one mind."

"I well know," said he, "that many pious "men, seeing the inconveniencies which the disunion of persuasions and opinions accidentally "produces, have thought themselves obliged to "stop this inundation of mischiefs, and have made "attempts accordingly. Some have endeavoured "to unite these factions, by propounding such a "guide as they were all bound to follow; hoping "that the unity of a guide would have produced "unity of minds. But who this guide should be, "after all, became such a question, that it was "made part of that fire itself which was to be "extinguished. Others thought of a rule. — This "was to be the effectual means of union! this "was to do the work, or nothing could! — But "supposing all the world had been agreed on "this rule, yet the interpretation of it was so "full of variety, that this also became part of the "disease."

The company, upon this preamble of our gentleman, preſſed harder upon him than before; objecting the authority of holy ſcripture againſt him, and affirming this to be of itſelf a ſufficient guide and rule. They urged again and again that known ſaying of a famed controverſial divine of our church againſt the divines of another, "That the "ſcripture, the ſcripture was the religion of Pro-"teſtants."

To this our gentleman, at firſt, replied only, by deſiring them to explain their word ſcripture, and by inquiring into the original of this collection of ancienter and later tracts, which in general they comprehended under that title: whether it were the apocryphal ſcripture, or the more canonical? the full or the half authorized? the doubtful, or the certain? the controverted, or uncontroverted? the ſingly-read, or that of various reading? the texts of theſe manuſcripts, or of thoſe? the tranſcripts, copies, titles, catalogues of this church and nation, or of that other? of this ſect and party, or of another? of thoſe in one age called orthodox, and in poſſeſſion of power, or of thoſe who in another overthrew their predeceſſors' authority, and in their turn alſo aſſumed the guardianſhip and power of holy things? For how theſe ſacred records were guarded in thoſe ages, might eaſily, he ſaid, be imagined by any one who had the leaſt inſight into the hiſtory of thoſe times which we called primitive, and thoſe characters of men whom we ſtyled Fathers of the church.

"It must be confessed," continued he, "it was "a strange industry and unlucky diligence which "was used, in this respect, by these ecclesiastical "fore-fathers. Of all those heresies which gave "them employment, we have absolutely no "record, or monument, but what themselves "who were adversaries have transmitted to us; "and we know that adversaries, especially such "who observe all opportunities to discredit both "the persons and doctrines of their enemies, are "not always the best recorders or witnesses of "such transactions. We see it," continued he, in a very emphatical, but somewhat embarrassed style, "we see it now in this very age, in the "present distemperatures, that parties are no good "registers of the actions of the adverse side: and "if we cannot be confident of the truth of a story "now, now, I say, that it is possible for any "man, especially for the interested adversary, to "discover the imposture, it is far more unlikely, "that after-ages should know any other truth than "such as serves the ends of the representers."

Our gentleman by these expressions had already given considerable offence to his zealot-auditors. They plied him faster with passionate reproaches, than with arguments or rational answers. This, however, served only to animate him the more, and made him proceed the more boldly, with the same assumed formality and air of declamation, in his general criticism of holy literature.

"There are," said he, "innumerable places "that contain, no doubt, great mysteries; but so

" wrapped in clouds, or hid in umbrages; so
" heightened with expressions, or so covered with
" allegories and garments of rhetoric; so profound
" in the matter, or so altered and made intricate
" in the manner, that they may seem to have
" been left as trials of our industry, and as occa-
" sions and opportunities for the exercise of mu-
" tual charity and toleration, rather than as the
" repositories of faith, and furniture of creeds.
" For when there are found in the explications of
" these writings, so many commentaries; so many
" senses and interpretations; so many volumes in
" all ages, and all like mens faces, no one exactly
" like another: either this difference is absolutely
" no fault at all; or if it be, it is excusable.
" There are, besides, so many thousands of copies
" that were writ by persons of several interests
" and persuasions, such different understandings
" and tempers, such distinct abilities and weaknesses,
" that it is no wonder there is so great variety
" of readings: —— whole verses in one, that
" are not in another: —— whole books admitted
" by one church or communion, which are
" rejected by another: and whole stories and
" relations admitted by some fathers, and rejected
" by others. —— I consider withal, that there
" have been many designs and views in expound-
" ing these writings: many senses in which they
" are expounded; and when the grammatical
" sense is found out, we are many times never
" the nearer. Now, there being such variety of
" senses in scripture, and but few places so marked

" out, as not to be capable of more than one; " if men will write commentaries by fancy, what " infallible criterion will be left to judge of the " certain sense of such places as have been the " matter of question? I consider again, that there " are indeed divers places in these sacred volumes, " containing in them mysteries and questions of " great concernment: yet such is the fabric and " constitution of the whole, that there is no cer- " tain mark to determine whether the sense of " these passages should be taken as literal or figu- " rative. There is nothing in the nature of the " thing to determine the sense or meaning: but it " must be gotten out as it can. And therefore it " is unreasonably required, that what is of itself " ambiguous, should be understood in its own " prime sense and intention, under the pain of " either a sin, or an anathema. Very wise men, " even the ancient fathers, have expounded things " allegorically, when they should have expounded " them literally. Others expound things literally " when they should understand them in allegory. " If such great spirits could be deceived in finding " out what kind of senses were to be given to " scriptures, it may well be endured that we, " who sit at their feet, should be subject at least " to equal failure. If we follow any one translation, " or any one man's commentary, what rule or " direction shall we have, by which to chuse that " one aright? Or is there any one man that hath " translated perfectly, or expounded infallibly? " If we resolve to follow any one as far only as

" we like, or fancy, we ſhall then only do wrong
" or right by chance. If we reſolve abſolutely to
" follow any one, witherſoever he leads, we ſhall
" probably come at laſt where, if we have any
" eyes left, we ſhall ſee ourſelves become ſufficiently
" ridiculous. "

The reader may here perhaps, by his natural ſagacity, remark a certain air of ſtudied diſcourſe and declamation, not ſo very proper or natural in the mouth of a mere gentleman, nor ſuitable to a company where alternate diſcourſe is carried on, in unconcerted meaſure, and unpremeditated language. Something there was ſo very emphatical, withal, in the delivery of theſe words, by the ſceptical gentleman, that ſome of the company who were ſtill more incenſed againſt him for theſe expreſſions, began to charge him as a preacher of pernicious doctrines, one who attacked religion in form, and carried his leſſons or lectures about with him, to repeat by rote, at any time, to the ignorant and vulgar, in order to ſeduce them.

It is true, indeed, ſaid he, Gentlemen! that what I have here ventured to repeat is addreſſed chiefly to thoſe you call ignorant; ſuch, I mean, as, being otherwiſe engaged in the world, have had little time perhaps to beſtow upon inquiries into divinity-matters. As for you, Genlemen! in particular, who are ſo much diſpleaſed with my freedom, I am well aſſured; you are in effect ſo able and knowing, that the truth of every aſſertion I have advanced is ſufficiently underſtood and acknowledged by you; however it may happen, that;

in your great wisdom, you think it proper to conceal these matters from such persons as you are pleased to style the vulgar.

It is true, withal, Gentlemen! continued he; I will confess to you, that the words you have heard repeated are not my own. They are no other than what have been publicly and solemnly delivered, even by one of the Episcopal order [14],

[14] The pious and learned Bishop *Taylor*, in his treatise *on the liberty of prophesying*, printed in his collection of polemical and moral discourses, *anno* 1657. The pages answering to the places above cited are, 401. 402. and in the epistle dedicatory, three or four leaves before, 438. 439—444. 451. 452. After which, in the succeeding page, he sums up his sense on this subject of sacred literature, and the liberty of criticism, and of private judgment and opinion in these matters, in the following words. "Since there are "so many copies, with infinite varieties of reading; since a various "interpunction, a parenthesis, a letter, an accent, may much alter "the sense; since some places have divers literal senses, many have "spiritual, mystical, and allegorical meanings; since there are so "many tropes, metonymies, ironies, hyperboles, proprieties, and "improprieties of language, whose understanding depends upon such "circumstances, that it is almost impossible to know the proper in-"terpretation, now that the knowledge of such circumstances and "particular stories is irrecoverably lost; since there are some mys-"teries, which, at the best advantage of expression, are not easy "to be apprehended, and whose explication, by reason of our im-"perfections, must needs be dark, sometimes weak, sometimes "unintelligible: and lastly, since those ordinary means of ex-"pounding scripture, as searching the originals, conference of pla-"ces, parity of reason, and analogy of faith, are all dubious, un-"certain, and very fallible; he that is the wisest, and by conse-"quence the likeliest to expound truest, in all probability of reason, "will be very far from confidence; because every one of these, and "many more, are like so many degrees of improbability and un-"certainty, all depressing our certainty of finding out truth, in "such mysteries, and amidst so many difficulties. And therefore a

a celebrated churchman, and one of the highest sort; as appears by his many devotional works, which carry the rites, ceremonies, and pomp of worship, with the honor and dignity of the priestly and Episcopal order, to the highest degree. In effect, we see the Reverend Doctor's treatises standing, as it were, in the front of this order of authors, and as the foremost of those good books used by the politest and most refined devotees of either sex. They maintain the principal place in the study of almost every elegant and high divine. They stand in folios and other volumes, adorned

" wise man that considers this, would not willingly be prescribed to " by others; for it is best every man should be left in that liberty " from which no man can justly take him, unless he could secure " him from error." The reverend prelate had but a few pages before *viz.* p. 427. acknowledged, indeed, " that we had an apostolical warrant to *contend earnestly for the faith.* But then," says the good Bishop, very candidly and ingenuously, " as these things " recede further from the foundation, our certainty is the less.— " And therefore it were very fit that our *confidence* should be according to our *evidence*, and our *zeal* according to our *confidence.*" He adds, p. 507. " All these disputes concerning tradition, councils, fathers, *&c.* are not arguments against or besides reason, " but contestations and pretences of the best arguments, and the " most certain satisfaction of our reason. But then all these coming " into question, submit themselves to reason; that is, to be judged " by human understanding upon the best grounds and information " it can receive. So that scripture, tradition, councils, and fathers, " are the evidence in a question; but Reason is the judge: that is, " we being the persons that are to be persuaded, we must see that " we be persuaded reasonably, and it is unreasonable to assent to a " lesser evidence, when a greater and clearer is propounded: but of " that every man for himself is to take cognizance, if he be able to " judge: if he be not, he is not bound under the tie of necessity " to know any thing of it."

with variety of pictures, gildings, and other decorations, on the advanced shelves or glass-cupboards of the ladies closets. They are in use at all seasons, and for all places, as well for church-service as closet-preparation; and, in short, may vie with any devotional books in British Christendom. And for the life and character of the man himself, I leave it to you, Gentlemen, you, I mean, of the zealot kind, to except against it, if you think proper. It is your manner, I know, and what you never fail to have recourse to, when any authority is produced against you. Personal reflection is always seasonable, and at hand, on such an occasion. No matter what virtue, honesty, or sanctity, may lie in the character of the person cited. No matter though he be ever so much, in other respects, of your own party, and devoted to your interest. If he has indiscreetly spoken some home-truth, or discovered some secret which strikes at the temporal interests of certain spiritual societies, he is quickly doomed to calumny and defamation.

I shall try this experiment, however, once more, continued our gentleman; and, as a conclusion to this discourse, will venture to produce to you a further authority of the same kind. You shall have it before you, in the exact phrase and words of the great author, in his theological capacity; since I have now no further occasion to conceal my citations, and accommodate them to the more familiar style and language of conversation.

Our excellent archbishop [15], and late father of

[15] *Viz.* Archbishop Tillotson, in his *Rule of faith*, p. 677.

our

our church, when expresly treating that very subject of a rule in matters of belief; in opposition to M. S — and Mr R —, his Romish antagonists, shows plainly how great a shame it is for us Protestants at least, whatever the case may be with Romanists, to disallow difference of opinions, and forbid private examination, and search into matters of ancient record, and scriptural tradition; when, at the same time, we have no pretence to oral or verbal; no claim to any absolute superior judge, or decisive judgment in the case; no polity, church, or community; no particular man, or number of men, who are not, even by our own confession, plainly fallible, and subject to error and mistake.

"The Protestants," says his Grace, speaking in the person of M. S — and the Romanists, "cannot know how many the books of scripture "ought to be; and which of the many contro-"verted ones may be securely put in that cata-"logue; which not. — But I shall tell him," replies his Grace, "that we know that just so "many ought to be received as uncontroverted "books, concerning which it cannot be shown "there was ever any controversy." It was not incumbent perhaps on my Lord Archbishop to help Mr S — so far in his objection, as to add, that in reality the burning, suppressing, and interpolating method, so early in fashion, and so tightly practised on the epistles, comments, histories, and writings of the orthodox and heretics of old, made it impossible to say with any kind of assurance,

" what books, copies, or transcripts those were, " concerning which there was never any controversy at all " This indeed would be a point not so easily to be demonstrated. But his Grace proceeds in showing the weakness of the Romish pillar, tradition. " For it must either," says he, " acknowledge some books to have been controverted, or not. If not, why doth he make a " supposition of controverted books? If oral tradition acknowledges some books to have been " controverted, then it cannot assure us that they " have not been controverted, nor consequently " that they ought to be received as never having " been controverted; but only as such, concerning which those churches who did once raise a " controversy about them, have been since satisfied that they are canonical [15]. — Where is then " the infallibility of oral tradition? How does the " living voice of the present church assure us, that " what books are now received by her, were ever " received by her? And if it cannot do this, but " the matter must come to be tried by the best

[15] His Grace subjoins immediately: " The traditionary church " *now* receives the epistle to the *Hebrews* as canonical. I ask, " Do they receive it as ever delivered for such? That they must, " if they receive it from oral tradition, which conveys things " to them under this notion as ever delivered; and yet St *Hierom* " speaking not as a *speculator*, but a *testifier* says expresly of it, " *that the custom of the Latin church doth not receive it among the canonical scriptures.* What saith Mr *S*—to this? It is clear from this " testimony, that the *Roman* church in St *Hierom*'s time did not " acknowledge this *epistle* for canonical; and it is as plain, that the " present *Roman* church doth receive it for canonical."

" records of former ages, which the Proteſtants " are willing to have the catalogue tried by; then " it ſeems the Proteſtants have a better way to " know what books are canonical, than is the in- " fallible way of oral tradition. And ſo long as it " is better, no matter though it be not called " infallible." ——

Thus the free and generous Archbiſhop. For, indeed, what greater generoſity is there, than in owning truth frankly and openly, even where the greateſt advantages may be taken by an adverſary? Accordingly, our worthy Archbiſhop, ſpeaking again immediately in the perſon of his adverſary, "The Proteſtants," ſays he [16], "cannot know " that the very original, or a perfectly true copy " of theſe books, hath been preſerved. Nor " is it neceſſary," replies the Archbiſhop, "that " they ſhould know either of theſe. It is ſuffi- " cient that they know that thoſe copies which " they have are not materially corrupted.—— But " how do the church of Rome know that they " have perfectly true copies of the ſcriptures in the " original languages? They do not pretend to " know this. The learned men of that church " acknowledge the various readings as well as we, " and do not pretend to know, otherwiſe than by " probable conjecture, as we alſo may do, which " of thoſe readings is the true one [17]". ——

[16] Page 678.

[17] The reader perhaps may find it worth while to read after this what the Archbishop, repreſents p. 716. &c. of the plauſible introduction of the groſſeſt article of belief, in the times when the ha-

And thus, continued our lay-gentleman, I have finished my quotations, which I have been necessi-

bit of making creeds came in fashion. And accordingly it may be understood, of what effect the *dogmatising* practice in divinity has ever been. " We will suppose then; that about the time when uni-
" versal *ignorance*, and the genuine daughter of it, call her *Devo-*
" *tion* or *Superstition*, had overspread the world, and the generality
" of people were strongly inclined to believe *strange things*; and even
" the greatest contradictions were recommended to them under the
" notion of Mysteries; being told by their *priests* and *guides*, that
" the more contradictious any thing is to reason, the greater merit
" there is in believing it: I say let us suppose, that in this state
" of things one or more of the most eminent then in the church,
" either out of design, or out of superstitious ignorance and
" mistake of the sense of our Saviour's words used in the con-
" secration of the sacrament, should advance this new doctrine,
" that the words of consecration, *&c.* * * * Such a doctrine as
" this was very likely to be advanced by the ambitious *clergy* of
" that time, as a probable means to draw in the people to a
" greater veneration of them. * * * Nor was such a doctrine
" less likely to take and prevail among the *people* in an age pro-
" digiously ignorant and strongly inclined to superstition, and
" thereby well prepared to receive the grossest absurdities under
" the notion of *mysterics*. * * * Now, supposing such a doctrine
" as this, so fitted to the humor and temper of the age, to be
" once asserted, either by chance or out of design, it would take
" like *wild-fire*; especially if, by some one or more who bore
" sway in the church, it were but recommended with *convenient*
" *gravity and solemnity*. * * * And for the contradictions con-
" tained in this doctrine, it was but telling the people *then*, as
" they do in effect *now*, that contradictions ought to be no scruple
" in the way of faith; that the more impossible any thing is,
" it is the fitter to be believed; that it is not praiseworthy to
" believe plain possibilities, but this is the gallantry and heroical
" power of faith, this is the way to oblige God almighty for
" ever to us, to believe flat and downright contradictions. * * *

tated to bring in my own defence; to prove to you that I have asserted nothing on this head of religion, faith, or the sacred mysteries, which has not been justified and confirmed by the most celebrated churchmen and respected divines. You may now proceed in your invectives; bestowing as free language of that kind, as your charity and breeding will permit. And you, Reverend Sirs! who have assumed a character which sets you above that of the mere gentleman, and releases you from those decorums, and constraining measures of behaviour, to which we of an inferior sort are bound; you may liberally deal your religious compliments and salutations in what dialect you think fit; since, for my own part, neither the names of heterodox, schismatic, heretic, sceptic, nor even infidel, or atheist itself, will in the least scandalise me, whilst the sentence comes only from your mouths. On the contrary, I rather strive with myself to suppress whatever vanity might naturally arise in me from such favor bestowed. For whatever may, in the bottom, be intended me by such a treatment, it is impossible for me to term it other than favor; since there are certain enmities which it will be ever esteemed a real honor to have merited.

"The more absurd and unreasonable any thing is, it is for that "very reason the more proper matter for an article of faith. "And if any of these innovations be objected against, as contrary "to former belief and practice, it is but putting forth a lusty "act of faith, and believing another contradiction, that though "they be contrary, yet they are the same." Above, p. 68. &c.

If, contrary to the rule and measure of conversation, I have drawn the company's attention towards me thus long, without affording them an intermission, during my recital; they will, I hope, excuse me, the rather, because they heard the other recitals, and were witnesses to the heavy charge and personal reflection, which, without any real provocation, was made upon me in public by these zealot-gentlemen to whom I have thus replied. And notwithstanding they may, after such breaches of charity as are usual with them, presume me equally out of charity, on my own side; I will take upon me, however, to give them this good advice at parting, "That since they have of late been "so elated by some seeming advantages, and a "prosperity, which they are ill fitted to bear; "they would at least beware of accumulating too "hastily those high characters, appellations, titles, "and ensigns of power, which may be tokens, "perhaps, of what they expect hereafter, but "which, as yet, do not answer the real power "and authority bestowed on them." The garb and countenance will be more graceful, when the thing itself is secured to them, and in their actual possession. Mean while, the anticipation of high titles, honors, and nominal dignities, beyond the common style and ancient usage; though it may be highly fashionable at present, may not prove beneficial or advantageous in the end.

I would, in particular, advise my elegant antagonists of this zealot kind, that among the many titles they assume to themselves, they would be

rather more ſparing in that high one of Ambaſſador, till ſuch time as they have juſt means and foundation to join that of Plenipotentiary together with it. For, as matters ſtand hitherto in our Britiſh world, neither their commiſſion from the ſovereign, nor that which they pretend from heaven, amounts to any abſolute or determining power.

The firſt holy meſſengers, for that I take to be the higheſt apoſtolic name, brought with them their proper teſtimonials in their lives, their manners, and behaviour; as well as in powerful works, miracles, and ſigns from heaven. And though indeed it might well be eſteemed a miracle in the kind, ſhould our preſent Meſſengers go about to repreſent their predeceſſors in any part of their demeanor or converſation; yet there are further miracles remaining for them to perform, ere they can in modeſty plead the apoſtolic or meſſenger authority. For though, in the torrent of a ſublime and figurative ſtyle, a holy apoſtle may have made uſe, perhaps, of ſuch a phraſe as that of embaſſy or Ambaſſador, to expreſs the dignity of his errand; it were to be wiſhed, that ſome who were never ſent of any errand or meſſage at all from God himſelf, would uſe a modeſter title to expreſs their voluntary negotiation between us and heaven.

I muſt confeſs for my own part, that I think the notion of an embaſſy from thence to be at beſt ſomewhat high ſtrained, in the metaphorical way of ſpeech. But certain I am, that if there be

any such residentship or agentship now established, it is not immediately from God himself, but through the magistrate, and by the prince or sovereign power here on earth, that these gentlemen-agents are appointed, distinguished, and set over us. They have undoubtedly a legal charter [18] and character, legal titles and precedencies, legal habits, coats of arms, colors, badges. But they may do well to consider, that a thousand badges or liveries bestowed by men merely, can never be sufficient to entitle them to the same authority as theirs who bore the immediate testimony and miraculous signs of power, from above. For in this case there was need only of eyes, and ordinary senses, to distinguish the commission, and acknowledge the embassy or message as divine.

But allowing it ever so certain a truth, "That "there has been a thousand, or near two thousand "years succession in this commission of embassy;" where shall we find this commission to have lain? — How has it been supplied still, or renewed? — how often dormant? — how often divided, even in one and the same species of claimants? — What party are they, among moderns, who, by virtue of any immediate testimonial from heaven, are thus entitled? — Where are the letters-patent? the credentials? For these should in the nature of the thing be open, visible, and apparent.

A certain Indian of the train of the ambassa-

[18] Vol. 1. p. 308, 309, 310.

dor-princes ſent to us lately from ſome of thoſe Pagan nations, being engaged, one Sunday, in viſiting our churches, and happening to aſk his interpreter, "Who the eminent perſons were whom "he obſerved haranguing ſo long with ſuch au-"thority from a high place?" was anſwered, "They were ambaſſadors from the Almighty, "or, according to the Indian language, from the "Sun." Whether the Indian took this ſeriouſly or in raillery, did not appear. But having afterwards called in, as he went along, at the chapels of ſome of his brother ambaſſadors, of the Romiſh religion, and at ſome other Chriſtian diſſenting congregations, where matters, as he perceived, were tranſacted with greater privacy, and inferior ſtate; he aſked, "Whether theſe alſo were am-"baſſadors from the ſame place?" He was anſwered, "That they had indeed been heretofore "of the embaſſy, and had poſſeſſion of the ſame "chief places he had ſeen: but they were now "ſucceeded there by others. If thoſe, there-"fore," replied the Indian, "were ambaſſadors "from the Sun; theſe, I take for granted, are "from the Moon."

Suppoſing, indeed, one had been no Pagan, but a good Chriſtian; converſant in the original holy ſcriptures, but unacquainted with the rites, titles, habits, and ceremonials, of which there is no mention in thoſe writings; might one not have inquired with humble ſubmiſſion into this affair? Might one not have ſoftly, and at a diſtance, applied for information concerning this high em-

bassy; and addressing perhaps to some inferior officer or liveryman of the train, asked modestly, "How and whence they came? whose equipage "they appeared in? at whose charges they were "entertained? and by whose suffrage or com-"mand appointed and authorized? —— Is it "true, pray, Sirs! that their excellencies of the "present establishment are the sole-commissioned? "or are there as many real commissioners as "there are pretenders? If so, there can be no "great danger for us whichever way we apply "ourselves. We have ample choice, and may "adhere to which commission we like best. If "there be only one single true one, we have "then, it seems, good reason to look about us, "search narrowly into the affair, be scrupulous in "our choice, and, as the current physic-bills ad-"monish us, beware of counterfeits; since there "are so many of these abroad, with earthly powers, "and temporal commissions, to back their spiritual "pretences."

It is to be feared, in good earnest, that the discernment of this kind will prove pretty difficult; especially amidst this universal contention, embroil, and fury of religious challengers, these high defiances of contrary believers, this zealous opposition of commission to commission; and this din of hell, anathemas, and damnations, raised every where by one religious party against another.

So far are the pretendedly commissioned parties from producing their commission openly, or proving it from the original record, or court-rolls of

heaven, that they deny us inſpection into theſe very records they plead, and refuſe to ſubmit their title to human judgment or examination.

A poet of our nation inſinuates indeed in their behalf, that they are fair enough in this reſpect. For when the murmuring people, ſpeaking by their choſen orator, or ſpokeſman, to the prieſt, ſays to them,

With eaſe you take what we provide with care,
And we who your Legation *muſt maintain*,
Find all your tribe in the commiſſion *are*,
And none but Heaven *could ſend ſo large a* train;

the apologiſt afterwards excuſing this boldneſs of the people, and ſoothing the incenſed prieſts with fairer words, ſays to them, on a foot of moderation, which he preſumes to be their character,

You with ſuch temper their intemperance bear,
To show your ſolid ſcience does rely
So on itſelf, *as you no trial fear*:
For arts *are weak that are of ſceptics shy* [19]

The poet, it ſeems, never dreamed of a time when the very countenance of moderation ſhould be out of faſhion with the gentlemen of this order, and the word itſelf exploded as unworthy of their profeſſion. And, indeed, ſo far are they at preſent from bearing with any ſceptic, or inquirer, ever

[19] *Gondibert*, book. 2. canto 1.

so modest or discreet, that to hear an argument on a contrary side to theirs, or read whatever may be writ in answer to their particular assertions, is made the highest crime. Whilst they have among themselves such differences, and sharp debates, about their heavenly commission, and are even in one and the same community or establishment, divided into different sects and headships; they will allow no particular survey or inspection into the foundations of their controverted title. They would have us inferior passive mortals, amazed as we are, and beholding with astonishment from afar these tremendous subjects of dispute, wait blindfold the event and final decision of the controversy. Nor is it enough that we are merely passive. It is required of us, that, in the midst of this irreconcileable debate concerning heavenly authorities and powers, we should be as confident of the veracity of some one, as of the imposture and cheat of all the other pretenders: and that believing firmly there is still a real commission at the bottom, we should endure the misery of these conflicts, and engage on one side or the other, as we happen to have our birth or education; till by fire and sword, execution, massacre, and a kind of depopulation of this earth, it be determined at last amongst us[20], "which "is the true commission, exclusive of all others, "and superior to the rest."

Here our secular Gentleman, who in the latter end of his discourse had already made several

[20] Supra, p. 75.

motions and geſtures which betokened a retreat, made his final bow in form, and quitted the place and company for that time; till, as he told his auditors, he had another opportunity, and freſh leiſure to hear, in his turn, whatever his antagoniſts might anew object to him, in a manner more favorable and moderate; or, if they ſo approved, in the ſame temper, and with the ſame zeal, as they had done before.

TREATISE VII.

VIZ.

A NOTION

OF THE

HISTORICAL DRAUGHT

OR

TABLATURE

OF THE

JUDGMENT

OF

HERCULES,

According to *Prodicus*, *lib.* 2. *Xen. de Mem. Soc.*

——————————— *Potiores*
Herculis ærumnas credat, sævosque labores,
Et Venere, et cœnis, et pluma Sardanapali.
Juv. sat. 10.

THE JUDGMENT OF HERCULES.

INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE we enter on the examination of our hiſtorical ſketch, it may be proper to remark, that by the word tablature, for which we have yet no name in Engliſh, beſides the general one of picture, we denote, according to the original word Tabula, a work not only diſtinct from a mere portraiture, but from all thoſe wilder ſorts of painting which are in a manner abſolute and independent; ſuch as the paintings in freſco upon the walls, the cielings, the ſtair-caſes, the cupolas, and other remarkable places either of churches or palaces.

Accordingly we are to underſtand, that it is not merely the ſhape or dimenſion of a cloth, or board, which denominates the piece or tablature; ſince a work of this kind may be compoſed of any

colored ſubſtance, as it may of any form; whether ſquare, oval, or round. But it is then that in painting we give to any particular work the name of tablature, when the work is in reality "A ſingle piece, comprehended in one view, "and formed according to one ſingle intelligence, "meaning, or deſign; which conſtitutes a real "Whole, by a mutual and neceſſary relation of "its parts, the ſame as of the members in a na-"tural body." So that one may ſay of a picture compoſed of any number of figures differently ranged, and without any regard to this correſpondency or union deſcribed, that it is no more a real piece or tablature than a picture would be a man's picture, or proper portraiture, which repreſented on the ſame cloth, in different places, the legs, arms, noſe, and eyes of ſuch a perſon, without adjuſting them according to the true proportion, air, and character which belonged to him.

This regulation has place even in the inferior degrees of painting; ſince the mere flower-painter is, we ſee, obliged to ſtudy the form of feſtoons, and to make uſe of a peculiar order or architecture of vaſes, jars, caniſters, pedeſtals, and other inventions, which ſerve as machines, to frame a certain proportionate aſſemblage, or united maſs, according to the rules of perſpective; and with regard as well to the different ſhapes and ſizes of his ſeveral flowers, as to the harmony of colors reſulting from the whole; this being the only

thing capable of rendering his work worthy the name of a compoſition or real piece.

So much the more, therefore, is this regulation applicable to hiſtory-painting, where not only men, but manners, and human paſſions, are repreſented. Here the unity of deſign muſt with more particular exactneſs be preſerved, according to the juſt rules of poetic art; that in the repreſentation of any event, or remarkable fact, the probability, or ſeeming truth, which is the real truth of art, may with the higheſt advantage be ſupported and advanced; as we ſhall better underſtand in the argument which follows on the hiſtorical tablature of the judgment of Hercules; who being young, and retired to a ſolitary place, in order to deliberate on the choice he was to make of the different ways of life, was accoſted, as our hiſtorian relates, by the two goddeſſes, Virtue and Pleaſure. It is on the iſſue of the controverſy between theſe two that the character of Hercules depends. So that we may naturally give to this piece and hiſtory, as well the title of the Education, as the choice or judgment of Hercules.

CHAP. I.

Of the general conſtitution or ordinance of the tablature.

THIS fable or hiſtory may be variouſly repreſented, according to the order of time:

Either in the inſtant when the two goddeſſes, Virtue and Pleaſure, accoſt Hercules;

Or when they are entered on their diſpute;

Or when their diſpute is already far advanced, and Virtue ſeems to gain her cauſe.

According to the firſt notion, Hercules muſt of neceſſity ſeem ſurpriſed on the firſt appearance of ſuch miraculous forms. He admires, he contemplates; but is not yet engaged or intereſted. According to the ſecond notion, he is intereſted, divided, and in doubt. According to the third, he is wrought, agitated and torn by contrary paſſions. It is the laſt effort of the vicious one, ſtriving for poſſeſſion over him. He agonizes, and with all his ſtrength of reaſon endeavours to over-come himſelf:

Et premitur ratione animus, vincique laborat,

Of theſe different periods of time the latter has been choſen; as being the only one of the three which can well ſerve to expreſs the grand event, or conſequent reſolution of Hercules, and the choice he actually made of a life full of toil and

hardſhip, under the conduct of Virtue, for the deliverance of mankind from tyranny and oppreſſion. And it is to ſuch a piece, or tablature, as repreſents this iſſue of the balance, in our pondering hero, that we may juſtly give the title of the deciſion or judgment of Hercules.

The ſame hiſtory may be repreſented yet according to a fourth date or period; as at the time when Hercules is entirely won by Virtue. But then the ſigns of this reſolute determination reigning abſolutely in the attitude and air of our young hero, there would be no room left to repreſent his agony, or inward conflict; which indeed makes the principal action here; as it would do in a poem, were this ſubject to be treated by a good poet. Nor would there be any more room left in this caſe, either for the perſuaſive rhetoric of Virtue, who muſt have already ended her diſcourſe, or for the inſinuating addreſs of Pleaſure, who having loſt her cauſe, muſt neceſſarily appear diſpleaſed, or out of humor: a circumſtance which would no way ſuit her character.

In the original ſtory or fable of this adventure of our young Hercules, it is particularly noted, that Pleaſure, advancing haſtily before Virtue, began her plea, and was heard with prevention, as being firſt in turn. And as this fable is wholly philoſophical and moral, this circumſtance in particular is to be conſidered as eſſential.

In this third period therefore of our hiſtory, dividing it, as we have done, into four ſucceſſive dates or points of time, Hercules being auditor,

and attentive, ſpeaks not. Pleaſure has ſpoken. Virtue is ſtill ſpeaking. She is about the middle, or towards the end of her diſcourſe; in the place where, according to juſt rhetoric, the higheſt tone of voice and ſtrongeſt action are employed.

It is evident, that every maſter in painting, when he has made choice of the determinate date or point of time according to which he would repreſent his hiſtory, is afterwards debarred the taking advantage from any other action than what is immediately preſent, and belonging to that ſingle inſtant he deſcribes. For if he paſſes the preſent only for a moment, he may as well paſs it for many years. And by this reckoning he may with as good right repeat the ſame figure ſeveral times over, and in one and the ſame picture repreſent Hercules in his cradle, ſtruggling with the ſerpents; and the ſame Hercules of full age, fighting with the Hydra, with Anteus, and with Cerberus: which would prove a mere confuſed heap, or knot of pieces, and not a ſingle entire piece, or tablature, of the hiſtorical kind.

It may, however, be allowable, on ſome occaſions, to make uſe of certain enigmatical or emblematical devices, to repreſent a future time; as when Hercules, yet a mere boy, is ſeen holding a ſmall club, or wearing the ſkin of a young lion. For ſo we often find him in the beſt antiques. And though hiſtory had never related of Hercules, that being yet very young, he killed a lion with his own hand; this repreſentation of him would nevertheleſs be entirely conformable

to poetic truth; which not only admits, but necessarily presupposes prophecy or prognostication, with regard to the actions and lives of heroes and great men. Besides that, as to our subject, in particular. the natural genius of Hercules, even in his tenderest youth, might alone answer for his handling such arms as these, and bearing, as it were in play, these early tokens of the future hero.

To preserve therefore a just conformity with historical truth, and with the unity of time and action, there remains no other way by which we can possibly give a hint of any thing future, or call to mind any thing past, than by setting in view such passages or events as have actually subsisted, or according to nature might well subsist, or happen together in one and the same instant. And this is what we may properly call the rule of consistency.

How is it therefore possible, says one, to express a change of passion in any subject, since this change is made by succession; and that in this case the passion which is understood as present, will require a disposition of body and features wholly different from the passion which is over, and past? To this we answer, That notwithstanding the ascendency or reign of the principal and immediate passion, the artist has power to leave still in his subject the tracks or footsteps of his predecessor; so as to let us behold not only a rising passion together with a declining one, but, what is more, a strong and determinate passion,

with its contrary already discharged and banished. As for instance, when the plain tracts of tears new fallen, with other fresh tokens of mourning and dejection, remain still in a person newly transported with joy at the sight of a relation or friend, who the moment before had been lamented as one deceased or lost.

Again, by the same means which are employed to call to mind the past, we may anticipate the future; as would be seen in the case of an able painter, who should undertake to paint this history of Hercules according to the third date or period of time proposed for our historical tablature. For in this momentary turn of action, Hercules remaining still in a situation expressive of suspense and doubt, would discover nevertheless, that the strength of this inward conflict was over, and that victory began now to declare herself in favor of Virtue. This transition, which seems at first so mysterious a performance, will be easily comprehended, if one considers, that the body, which moves much slower than the mind, is easily outstripped by this latter; and that the mind on a sudden turning itself some new way, the nearer situated and more sprightly parts of the body, such as the eyes, and muscles about the mouth and forehead, taking the alarm, and moving in an instant, may leave the heavier and more distant parts to adjust themselves, and change their attitude some moments after.

This different operation may be distinguished by the names of anticipation and repeal.

If by any other method an artiſt ſhould pretend to introduce into this piece any portion of time, future or paſt, he muſt either ſin directly againſt the law of truth and credibility, in repreſenting things contrary and incompatible; or againſt that law of unity and ſimplicity of deſign which conſtitutes the very being of his work. This particularly ſhows itſelf in a picture, when one is neceſſarily left in doubt, and unable to determine readily, which of the diſtinct ſucceſſive parts of the hiſtory or action is that very one repreſented in the deſign. For even here the caſe is the ſame as in the other circumſtances of poetry and painting, "That what is principal or chief ſhould "immediately ſhow itſelf, without leaving the "mind in any uncertainty."

According to this rule of the unity of time, if one ſhould aſk an artiſt, who had painted this hiſtory of the judgment of Hercules, "Which of "theſe four periods or dates of time above pro-"poſed he intended in his picture to repreſent [1]?"

[1] If the ſame queſtion concerning the *inſtantaneous* action, or preſent moment of time, were applied to many famous hiſtorical paintings much admired in the world, they would be found very defective; as we may learn by the inſtance of that ſingle ſubject of Acteon, one of the commoneſt in painting. Hardly is there any where ſeen a deſign of this poetical hiſtory, without a ridiculous anticipation of the *metamorphoſis*. The horns of Acteon which are the effect of a charm, ſhould naturally wait the execution of that act in which the charm conſiſts. Till the goddeſs therefore has thrown her caſt, the hero's perſon ſuffers not any change. Even while the water flies, his forehead is ſtill found. But in the uſual deſign we ſee it otherwiſe. The horns are already *ſprouted*, if not full grown; and the goddeſs is ſeen watering *the ſprouts*.

and it ſhould happen that he could not readily anſwer, It was this, or that: it would appear plainly he had never formed a real notion of his workmanſhip, or of the hiſtory he intended to repreſent. So that when he had executed, even to a miracle, all thoſe other beauties requiſite in a piece, and had failed in this ſingle one, he would from hence alone be proved to be in truth no hiſtory-painter, or artiſt in the kind, who underſtood not ſo much as how to form the real deſign of a hiſtorical piece.

CHAP. II.

Of the firſt or principal figure.

To apply therefore what has been ſaid above to our immediate deſign or tablature in hand; we may obſerve, in the firſt place, with regard to Hercules, the firſt or principal figure of our piece, that being placed in the middle between the two goddeſſes, he ſhould by a ſkilful maſter be ſo drawn, as, even ſetting aſide the air and features of the face, it ſhould appear by the very turn or poſition of the body alone, that this young hero had not wholly quitted the balancing or pondering part. For in the manner of his turn towards the worthier of theſe goddeſſes, he ſhould

by no means appear ſo averſe or ſeparate from the other, as not to ſuffer it to be conceived of him, that he had ever any inclination for her, or had ever hearkened to her voice. On the contrary, there ought to be ſome hopes yet remaining for this latter goddeſs Pleaſure, and ſome regret apparent in Hercules; otherwiſe we ſhould paſs immediately from the third to the fourth period, or at leaſt confound one with the other.

Hercules, in his agony deſcribed, may appear either ſitting or ſtanding; though it be more according to probability for him to appear ſtanding, in regard to the preſence of the two goddeſſes, and by reaſon the caſe is far from being the ſame here, as in the judgment of Paris, where the intereſted goddeſſes plead their cauſe before their judge. Here the intereſt of Hercules himſelf is at ſtake. It is his own cauſe which is trying. He is in this reſpect not ſo much the judge, as he is in reality the party judged.

The ſuperior and commanding paſſion of Hercules may be expreſſed either by a ſtrong admiration, or by an admiration which holds chiefly of love.

— — —*Ingenti perculſus amore.*

If the latter be uſed, then the reluctant paſſion, which is not yet wholly overcome, may ſhow itſelf in pity and tenderneſs, moved in our hero by the thought of thoſe pleaſures and companions of his youth which he is going

for ever to abandon. And in this ſenſe Hercules may look either on the one or the other of the goddeſſes; with this difference, that if he looks on Pleaſure, it ſhould be faintly, and as turning his eyes back with pity; having ſtill his action and geſture turned the other way towards Virtue. If, on the contrary, he looks on Virtue, it ought to be earneſtly, and with extreme attention, having ſome part of the action of his body inclining ſtill towards Pleaſure, and diſcovering, by certain features of concern and pity, intermixed with the commanding or conquering paſſion, that the deciſion he is about to make in favor of Virtue coſt him not a little.

If it be thought fit rather to make uſe of admiration, merely to expreſs the commanding paſſion of Hercules; then the reluctant one may diſcover itſelf in a kind of horror, at the thought of the toil and labor to be ſuſtained in the rough rocky way apparent on the ſide of Virtue.

Again, Hercules may be repreſented as looking neither towards Virtue nor Pleaſure, but as turning his eyes either towards the mountainous rocky way pointed out to him by Virtue, or towards the flowery way of the vale and meadows, recommended to him by Pleaſure. And to theſe different attitudes may be applied the ſame rules for the expreſſion of the turn or balance of judgement in our penſive hero.

Whatever may be the manner choſen for the deſigning of this figure of Hercules, according to that part of the hiſtory in which we have taken

him; it is certain he ſhould be ſo drawn; as neither by the opening of his mouth, or by any other ſign, to leave it in the leaſt dubious whether he is ſpeaking or ſilent. For it is abſolutely requiſite that ſilence ſhould be diſtinctly characterized in Hercules, not only as the natural effect of his ſtrict attention, and the little leiſure he has from what paſſes at this time within his breaſt; but in order withal to give that appearance of majeſty and ſuperiority becoming the perſon and character of pleading Virtue; who, by her eloquence and other charms, has ere this made herſelf miſtreſs of the heart of our enamoured hero:

——— *Pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore* [1].

This image of the] ſublime, in the diſcourſe and manner of Virtue, would be utterly loſt, if, in the inſtant that ſhe employed the greateſt force of action, ſhe ſhould appear to be interrupted by the ill-timed ſpeech, reply, or utterance of her auditor. Such a deſign of repreſentation as this would prove contrary to order, contrary to the hiſtory, and to the decorum or decency of manners. Nor can one well avoid taking notice here of that general abſurdity committed by many of the eſteemed great maſters in painting; who, in one and the ſame company or aſſembly of perſons jointly employed and united, according to the hiſtory, in one ſingle or common action, repreſent

[1] Virg. Æn. lib. 4. ver. 79.

to us not only two or three, but ſeveral, and ſometimes all, ſpeaking at once: which muſt naturally have the ſame effect on the eye, as ſuch a converſation would have upon the ear, were we in reality to hear it.

CHAP. III.

Of the ſecond figure.

AFTER what has been ſaid on the ſubject of Hercules, it appears plainly what the attitude muſt be of our ſecond figure, Virtue; who, as we have taken her in this particular period of our hiſtory, muſt of neceſſity be ſpeaking with all the force of action, ſuch as would appear in an excellent orator, when at the height, and in the moſt affecting part of his diſcourſe.

She ought therefore to be drawn ſtanding; ſince it is contrary to all probable appearance, and even to nature itſelf, that, in the very heat and higheſt tranſport of ſpeech, the ſpeaker ſhould be ſeen ſitting, or in any poſture which might expreſs repoſe.

She may be habited either as an Amazon, with the helmet, lance, and in the robe or veſt of Pallas; or as any other of the virtues, goddeſſes, or heroines, with the plain original crown, without rays, according to genuine antiquity. Our hiſtory makes no mention of a helmet, or any other armour of Virtue. It gives us only to un-

derſtand, that ſhe was dreſſed neither negligently, nor with much ſtudy or ornament. If we follow this latter method, we need give her only in her hand the imperial and magiſterial ſword [1]; which is her true characteriſtic mark, and would ſufficiently diſtinguiſh her, without the helmet, lance, or other military habit. And in this manner the oppoſition between herſelf and her rival would be ſtill more beautiful and regular. — "But this "beauty," ſays one, "would be diſcoverable "only by the learned."—Perhaps ſo. But then again there would be no loſs for others; ſince no one would find this piece the leſs intelligible on the account of this regulation. On the contrary, one who chances to know little of antiquity in general, or of this hiſtory in particular, would be ſtill further to ſeek, if, upon ſeeing an armed woman in the piece, he ſhould repreſent to himſelf either a Pallas, a Bellona, or any other warlike form or deity of the female kind.

As for the ſhape, countenance, or perſon of Virtue; that which is uſually given to Pallas may fitly ſerve as a model for this dame; as, on the other ſide, that which is given to Venus may ſerve in the ſame manner for her rival. The hiſtorian whom we follow repreſents Virtue to us as a lady of a goodly form, tall and majeſtic. And, by what he relates of her, he gives us ſufficiently to underſtand, that though ſhe was neither lean, nor of a tanned complexion, ſhe muſt have diſcovered

[1] Panazonium.

however, by the ſubſtance and color of her fleſh, that ſhe was ſufficiently accuſtomed to exerciſe. Pleaſure, on the other hand, by an exact oppoſition, is repreſented in better caſe, and of a ſoftneſs of complexion, which ſpeaks her manners, and gives her a middle character between the perſon of a Venus, and that of a Bacchanal nymph.

As for the poſition or attitude of Virtue; though in a hiſtorical piece, ſuch as ours is deſigned, it would on no account be proper to have immediate recourſe to the way of emblem; one might, on this occaſion, endeavour nevertheleſs, by ſome artifice, to give our figure, as much as poſſible, the reſemblance of the ſame goddeſs, as ſhe is ſeen on medals, and other ancient emblematic pieces of like nature. In this view, ſhe ſhould be ſo deſigned, as to ſtand firm with her full poiſe upon one foot, having the other a little advanced, and raiſed on a broken piece of ground or rock, inſtead of the helmet or little globe on which we ſee her uſually ſetting her foot, as triumphant, in thoſe pieces of the emblematic kind. A particular advantage of this attitude, ſo judiciouſly aſſigned to Virtue by ancient maſters, is, that it expreſſes as well her aſpiring effort, or aſcent towards the ſtars and heaven, as her victory and ſuperiority over fortune and the world. For ſo the poets have, of old, deſcribed her.

——— *Negatà tentat iter via* [2].
Virtutiſque viam deſerit ardua [3].

[2] Horat. lib. 3. od. 2. [3] Idem, ibid. od. 24.

And

And in our piece particularly, where the arduous and rocky way of Virtue requires to be emphatically represented, the ascending posture of this figure, with one foot advanced, in a sort of climbing action, over the rough and thorny ground, must of necessity, if well executed, create a due effect, and add to the sublime of this ancient poetic work *.

As for the hands or arms, which in real oratory, and during the strength of elocution, must of necessity be active; it is plain, in respect of our goddess, that the arm in particular which she has free to herself, and is neither incumbered with lance or sword, should be employed another way, and come in, to second the discourse, and accompany it, with a just emphasis and action. Accordingly, Virtue would then be seen with this hand turned either upwards to the rocky way marked out by her with approbation; or to the sky, or stars, in the same sublime sense; or downwards to the flowery way and vale, as in a detesting manner, and with abhorrence of what passes there; or last of all, in a disdainful sense, and with the same appearance of detestation, against Pleasure

* As ancient as the poet *Hesiod*: which appears by the following verses, cited by our historian as the foundation or first draught of this *Herculean* tablature.

Τὴν μὲν γὰρ κακότητα καὶ ἰλαδόν ἐστιν ἑλέσθαι
Ῥηϊδίως· λείη μὲν ὁδὸς, μάλα δ' ἐγγύθι ναίει.
Τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν
Ἀθάνατοι, μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐπ' αὐτὴν,
Καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηαι,
Ῥηϊδίη δ' ἤπειτα πέλει, χαλεπή περ ἐοῦσα.

herſelf. Each manner would have its peculiar advantage. And the beſt profit ſhould be made of this arm and hand at liberty, to expreſs either the diſapprobation or the applauſe propoſed. It might prove, however, a conſiderable advantage to our figure of Virtue, if holding the lance, or imperial ſword, ſlightly, with one of her hands ſtretched downwards, ſhe could, by that very hand and action, be made to expreſs the latter meaning; opening for that purpoſe ſome of the lower fingers of this hand, in a refuſing or repelling manner; whilſt, with the other arm and hand at liberty, ſhe ſhould expreſs as well the former meaning, and point out to Hercules the way which leads to honor, and the juſt glory of heroic actions.

From all theſe circumſtances of hiſtory, and action, accompanying this important figure, the difficulty of the deſign will ſufficiently appear to thoſe who carry their judgment beyond the mere form, and are able to conſider the character of the paſſion to which it is ſubjected. For where a real character is marked, and the inward form peculiarly deſcribed, it is neceſſary the outward ſhould give place. Whoever ſhould expect to ſee our figure of Virtue, in the exact mien of a fine talker, curious in her choice of action, and forming it according to the uſual decorum and regular movement of one of the fair ladies of our age, would certainly be far wide of the thought and genius of this piece. Such ſtudied action and artificial geſture may be allowed to the actors and actreſſes of

the ſtage. But the good painter muſt come a little nearer to truth, and take care that his action be not theatrical, or at ſecond hand; but original, and drawn from Nature herſelf. Now, although, in the ordinary tenor of diſcourſe, the action of the party might be allowed to appear ſo far governed and compoſed by art, as to retain that regular contraſt and nice balance of movement which painters are apt to admire as the chief grace of figures; yet in this particular caſe, where the natural eagerneſs of debate, ſupported by a thorough antipathy and animoſity, is joined to a ſort of enthuſiaſtic agitation incident to our prophetic dame, there can be little of that faſhionable mien, or genteel air, admitted. The painter who, in ſuch a piece as we deſcribe, is bound to preſerve the heroic ſtyle, will doubtleſs beware of repreſenting his heroine as a mere ſcold. Yet this is certain, that it were better for him to expoſe himſelf to the meanneſs of ſuch a fancy, and paint his lady in a high rant, according to the common weakneſs of the ſex, than to engage in the embelliſhment of the mere form; and forgetting the character of ſeverity and reprimand belonging to the illuſtrious rival, preſent her to us a fair ſpecious perſonage, free of emotion, and without the leaſt bent or movement which ſhould expreſs the real pathetic of the kind.

CHAP. IV.

Of the third figure.

CONCERNING Pleaſure, there needs little to be ſaid, after what has been already remarked in relation to the two preceding figures. The truth of appearance, that of hiſtory, and even the decorum itſelf, according to what has been explained above, require evidently, that, in this period or inſtant deſcribed, Pleaſure ſhould be found ſilent. She can have no other language allowed her than that merely of the eyes. And it would be a happy management for her in the deſign, if, in turning her eyes to meet thoſe of Hercules, ſhe ſhould find his head and face already turned ſo much on the contrary ſide, as to ſhow it impoſſible for her as yet to diſcover the growing paſſion of this hero in favor of her rival. By this means ſhe might ſtill with good right retain her fond airs of dalliance and courtſhip; as having yet diſcovered no reaſon ſhe has to be diſſatisfied.

She may be drawn either ſtanding, leaning, ſitting, or lying; without a crown, or crowned either with roſes, or with myrtle, according to the painter's fancy. And ſince in this third figure the painter has ſo great a liberty left him, he may make good advantage of it for the other two, to which this latter may be ſubjected, as the laſt in order, and of leaſt conſequence.

That which makes the greateſt difficulty in the diſpoſition or ordinance of this figure Pleaſure, is, that, notwithſtanding the ſupine air and character of eaſe and indolence which ſhould be given her, ſhe muſt retain ſtill ſo much life and action as is ſufficient to expreſs her perſuaſive effort, and manner of indication towards her proper paths; thoſe of the flowery kind, and vale below, whither ſhe would willingly guide our hero's ſteps. Now, ſhould this effort be over-ſtrongly expreſſed, not only the ſupine character and air of indolence would be loſt in this figure of Pleaſure; but, what is worſe, the figure would ſeem to ſpeak, or at leaſt appear ſo, as to create a double meaning, or equivocal ſenſe in painting; which would deſtroy what we have eſtabliſhed as fundamental, concerning the abſolute reign of ſilence throughout the reſt of the piece, in favor of Virtue, the ſole ſpeaking party at this inſtant, or third period of our hiſtory.

According to a computation, which in this way of reaſoning might he made, of the whole motion or action to be given to our figure of Pleaſure; ſhe ſhould ſcarce have one fifth reſerved for that which we may properly call active in her, and have already termed her perſuaſive or indicative effort. All beſides ſhould be employed to expreſs, if one may ſay ſo, her inaction, her ſupineneſs, effeminacy, and indulgent eaſe. The head and body might entirely favor this latter paſſion. One hand might be abſolutely reſigned to it; ſerving only to ſupport, with much ado, the lolling lazy

body. And if the other hand be required to expreſs ſome kind of geſture or action toward the road of pleaſures recommended by this dame; the geſture ought however to be ſlight and negligent, in the manner of one who has given over ſpeaking, and appears weary and ſpent.

For the ſhape, the perſon, the complexion, and what elſe may be further remarked as to the air and manner of Pleaſure; all this is naturally comprehended in the oppoſition, as above ſtated, between herſelf and Virtue.

CHAP. V.

Of the ornaments of the piece; and chiefly of the drapery, and perſpective.

IT is ſufficiently known, how great a liberty painters are uſed to take in the coloring of their habits, and of other draperies belonging to their hiſtorical pieces. If they are to paint a Roman people, they repreſent them in different dreſſes; though it be certain the common people among them were habited very near alike, and much after the ſame color. In like manner, the Egyptians, Jews, and other ancient nations, as we may well ſuppoſe, bore in this particular their reſpective likeneſs or reſemblance one to another as at preſent the Spaniards, Italians, and ſeveral other

people of Europe. But ſuch a reſemblance as this would, in the way of painting, produce a very untoward effect; as may eaſily be conceived. For this reaſon the painter makes no ſcruple to introduce philoſophers, and even apoſtles, in various colors, after a very extraordinary manner. It is here that the hiſtorical truth muſt of neceſſity indeed give way to that which we call poetical, as being governed not ſo much by reality, as by probability, or plauſible appearance. So that a painter who uſes his privilege or prerogative in this reſpect, ought, however, to do it cautiouſly, and with diſcretion. And when occaſion requires that he ſhould preſent us his philoſophers or apoſtles thus variouſly colored, he muſt take care at leaſt ſo to mortify his colors, that theſe plain poor men may not appear in his piece adorned like ſo many lords or princes of the modern garb.

If, on the other hand, the painter ſhould happen to take for his ſubject ſome ſolemn entry or triumph, where, according to the truth of fact, all manner of magnificence had without doubt been actually diſplayed, and all ſorts of bright and dazzling colors heaped together and advanced, in emulation, one againſt another; he ought on this occaſion, in breach of the hiſtorical truth, or truth of fact, to do his utmoſt to diminiſh and reduce the exceſſive gaiety and ſplendor of thoſe objects, which would otherwiſe raiſe ſuch a confuſion, oppugnancy, and riot of

colors, as would to any judicious eye appear absolutely intolerable.

It becomes therefore an able painter in this, as well as in the other parts of his workmanship, to have regard principally, and above all, to the agreement or correspondency of things. And to that end it is necessary he should form in his mind a certain note or character of unity; which being happily taken, would, out of the many colors of his piece, produce, if one may say so, a particular distinct species of an original kind; like those compositions in music, where, among the different airs, such as sonatas, entries, or sarabands, there are different and distinct species; of which we may say in particular, as to each, "That it has its own proper character or genius, "peculiar to itself."

Thus the harmony of painting requires, "that "in whatever key the painter begins his piece, "he should be sure to finish it in the same."

This regulation turns on the principal figure, or on the two or three which are eminent, in a tablature composed of many. For if the painter happens to give a certain height or richness of coloring to his principal figure, the rest must in proportion necessarily partake this genius. But if, on the contrary, the painter should have chanced to give a softer air, with more gentleness and simplicity of coloring, to his principal figure; the rest must bear a character proportionable, and appear in an extraordinary simplicity; that one and the same spirit may, without contest, reign through the whole of his design.

Our hiſtorical draught of Hercules will afford us a very clear example in the caſe. For conſidering that the hero is to appear on this occaſion retired and gloomy, being withal in a manner naked, and without any other covering than a lion's ſkin, which is itſelf of a yellow and duſky color; it would be really impracticable for a painter to repreſent this principal figure in any extraordinary brightneſs or luſtre. From whence it follows, that, in the other inferior figures or ſubordinate parts of the work, the painter muſt neceſſarily make uſe of ſuch ſtill quiet colors, as may give to the whole piece a character of ſolemnity and ſimplicity, agreeable with itſelf. Now, ſhould our painter honeſtly go about to follow his hiſtorian, according to the literal ſenſe of the hiſtory, which repreſents Virtue to us in a reſplendent robe of the pureſt and moſt gloſſy white, it is evident he muſt, after this manner, deſtroy his piece. The good painter in this, as in all other occaſions of like nature, muſt do as the good poet; who undertaking to treat ſome common and known ſubject, refuſes, however, to follow ſtrictly, like a mere copyiſt or tranſlator, any preceding poet or hiſtorian; but ſo orders it, that his work in itſelf becomes really new and original.

Publica materies privati juris erit; ſi
Nec circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem,
Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
Interpres [1].

[1] Hor. de arte poet. ver. 131.

As for what relates to the perſpective or ſcene of our hiſtorical piece, it ought ſo to preſent itſelf, as to make us inſtantly conceive that it is in the country, and in a place of retirement, near ſome wood or foreſt, that this whole action paſſes. For it would be impertinent to bring architecture, or buildings of whatever kind, in view, as tokens of company, diverſion, or affairs, in a place purpoſely choſen to denote ſolitude, thoughtfulneſs, and premeditated retreat. Beſides that, according to the poets, our guides and maſters in this art, neither the goddeſſes, nor other divine forms of whatever kind, cared ever to preſent themſelves to human ſight, elſewhere than in theſe deep receſſes. And it is worth obſerving here, how particularly our philoſophical hiſtorian affects to ſpeak, by way of prevention, of the ſolitary place where Hercules was retired, and of his thoughtfulneſs preceding this apparition: which from theſe circumſtances may be conſtrued henceforward as a mere dream; but as ſuch, a truly rational and divine one.

As to the fortreſs, temple, or palace of Virtue, ſituated on a mountain, after the emblematical way, as we ſee repreſented in ſome pieces formed upon this ſubject; there is nothing of this kind expreſſed by our hiſtorian. And ſhould this, or any thing of a like nature, preſent itſelf in our deſign, it would fill the mind with foreign fancies, and myſterious views, no way agreeable to the taſte and genius of this piece. Nor is there any thing, at the ſame time, on Pleaſure's ſide,

to anſwer, by way of oppoſition, to this palace of Virtue; which, if expreſſed, would on this account deſtroy the juſt ſimplicity and correſpondency of our work.

Another reaſon againſt the perſpective part, the architecture, or other ſtudied ornaments of the landſkip kind, in this particular piece of ours, is, that in reality there being no occaſion for theſe appearances, they would prove a mere incumbrance to the eye, and would of neceſſity diſturb the ſight, by diverting it from that which is principal, the hiſtory and fact. Whatſoever appears in a hiſtorical deſign, which is not eſſential to the action, ſerves only to confound the repreſentation, and perplex the mind: more particularly, if theſe epiſodic parts are ſo lively wrought, as to vie with the principal ſubject, and contend for precedency with the figures and human life. A juſt deſign, or tablature, ſhould, at firſt view, diſcover, what nature it is deſigned to imitate; what life, whether of the higher or lower kind, it aims chiefly to repreſent. The piece muſt by no means be equivocal or dubious; but muſt with eaſe diſtinguiſh itſelf, either as hiſtorical and moral, or as perſpective and merely natural. If it be the latter of theſe beauties which we deſire to ſee delineated according to its perfection, then the former muſt give place. The higher life muſt be allayed, and in a manner diſcountenanced and obſcured; whilſt the lower diſplays itſelf, and is exhibited as principal. Even that which, according to a term of art, we commonly call ſtill-life, and

is in reality of the laſt and loweſt degree of painting, muſt have its ſuperiority and juſt preference in a tablature of its own ſpecies. It is the ſame in animal pieces, where beaſts or fowl are repreſented. In landſkip, inanimates are principal: it is the earth, the water, the ſtones, and rocks, which live. All other life becomes ſubordinate. Humanity, ſenſe, manners, muſt in this place yield, and become inferior. It would be a fault even to aim at the expreſſion of any real beauty in this kind, or go about to animate or heighten, in any conſiderable degree, the accompanying figures of men, or deities which are accidentally introduced, as appendices, or ornaments, in ſuch a piece. But if, on the contrary, the human ſpecies be that which firſt preſents itſelf in a picture; if it be the intelligent life which is ſet to view; it is the other ſpecies, the other life, which muſt then ſurrender, and become ſubſervient. The merely natural muſt pay homage to the hiſtorical or moral. Every beauty, every grace, muſt be ſacrificed to the real Beauty of this firſt and higheſt order. For nothing can be more deformed than a confuſion of many beauties: and the confuſion becomes inevitable, where the ſubjection is not complete.

By the word Moral are underſtood, in this place, all ſorts of judicious repreſentations of the human paſſions; as we ſee even in battle-pieces; excepting thoſe of diſtant figures, and the diminutive kind; which may rather be conſidered as a ſort of landſkip. In all other martial pieces, we

ſee expreſſed in lively action the ſeveral degrees of valor, magnanimity, cowardice, terror, anger, according to the ſeveral characters of nations, and particular men. It is here that we may ſee heroes and chiefs, ſuch as the Alexanders or Conſtantines, appear, even in the hotteſt of the action, with a tranquillity and ſedateneſs of mind peculiar to themſelves: which is, indeed, in a direct and proper ſenſe, profoundly moral.

But as the moral part is differently treated in a poem from what it is in hiſtory, or in a philoſophical work; ſo muſt it, of right, in painting, be far differently treated from what it naturally is, either in the hiſtory or poem. For want of a right underſtanding of this maxim, it often happens, that, by endeavouring to render a piece highly moral and learned, it becomes thoroughly ridiculous and impertinent.

For the ordinary works of Sculpture, ſuch as the low-relieves, and ornaments of columns and edifices, great allowance is made. The very rules of perſpective are here wholly reverſed, as neceſſity requires, and are accommodated to the circumſtance and genius of the place or building, according to a certain œconomy or order of a particular and diſtinct kind; as will eaſily be obſerved by thoſe who have thoroughly ſtudied the Trajan and Antoninus pillars, and other relieve works of the ancients. In the ſame manner, as to pieces of engraved work, medals, or whatever ſhows itſelf in one ſubſtance, as braſs or ſtone, or only by ſhade and light, as in ordinary drawings,

or ſtamps, much alſo is allowed, and many things admitted, of the fantaſtic, miraculous, or hyperbolical kind. It is here that we have free ſcope, withal, for whatever is learned, emblematical, or enigmatic. But for the completely imitative and illuſive art of Painting, whoſe character it is to employ in her works the united force of different colors; and who, ſurpaſſing by ſo many degrees, and in ſo many privileges, all other human fiction, or imitative art, aſpires in a directer manner towards deceit, and a command over our very ſenſe; ſhe muſt of neceſſity abandon whatever is over learned, humorous, or witty; to maintain herſelf in what is natural, credible, and winning of our aſſent; that ſhe may thus acquit herſelf of what is her chief province, the ſpecious appearance of the object ſhe repreſents. Otherwiſe we ſhall naturally bring againſt her the juſt criticiſm of Horace, on the ſcenical repreſentation ſo nearly allied to her:

Quodcunque oſtendis mihi ſic, incredulus odi.

We are therefore to conſider this as a ſure maxim or obſervation in painting, "That a "hiſtorical and moral piece muſt of neceſſity loſe "much of its natural ſimplicity and grace, if "any thing of the emblematical or enigmatic kind "be viſibly and directly intermixed:" As if, for inſtance, the circle of the zodiac[a], with its twelve

[a] This is what *Raphael* himſelf has done, in his famous de-

ſigns, were introduced. Now, this being an appearance which carries not any manner of ſimilitude or colorable reſemblance to any thing extant in real nature; it cannot poſſibly pretend to win the ſenſe, or gain belief, by the help of any poetical enthuſiaſm, religious hiſtory, or faith. For by means of theſe, indeed, we are eaſily induced to contemplate as realities thoſe divine perſonages and miraculous forms, which the leading painters, ancient and modern, have ſpeciouſly deſigned, according to the particular doctrine or theology of their ſeveral religious and national beliefs. But for our tablature in particular, it carries nothing with it of the mere emblematical or enigmatical kind; ſince, for what relates to the double way of the vale and mountain, this may naturally, and with colorable appearance, be repreſented at the mountain's foot. But if, on the ſummit or higheſt point of it, we ſhould place the fortreſs or palace of Virtue, riſing above the clouds; this would immediately give the enigmatical myſterious air to our picture, and of neceſſity deſtroy its perſuaſive ſimplicity, and natural appearance.

In ſhort, we are to carry this remembrance ſtill along with us, "That the fewer the objects "are, beſides thoſe which are abſolutely neceſſary

ſign of *the judgment of Paris*. But this piece having never been painted, but deſigned only for *Marc Antonio*'s engraving, it comes not within our cenſure; as appears by what is ſaid in the paragraph juſt preceding.

" in a piece, the easier it is for the eye, by one " simple act, and in one view, to comprehend " the sum or whole." The multiplication of subjects, though subaltern, renders the subordination more difficult to execute in the ordinance or composition of a work. And if the subordination be not perfect, the order, which makes the beauty, remains imperfect. Now, the subordination can never be perfect, except "when the ordinance is " such, that the eye not only runs over with ease " the several parts of the design, reducing still " its view each moment on the principal subject " on which all turns, but when the same eye, " without the least detainment in any of the " particular parts, and resting, as it were, im- " moveable in the middle or centre of the tablature, " may see at once, in an agreeable and perfect " correspondency, all which is there exhibited to " the sight[1]."

CHAP. VI.

Of the casual or independent ornaments.

THERE remains for us now to consider only of the separate ornaments, independent both of figures

[1] This is what the *Grecian* masters so happily expressed by the single word ἐνσύνοπτον. See vol. 1. p. 123.

and

and perſpective; ſuch as the machine-work or divinities in the ſky [1], the winds, Cupids, birds, animals, dogs, or other looſe pieces which are introduced without any abſolute neceſſity, and in a way of humor. But as theſe belong chiefly to the ordinary life, and to the comic or mixed kind; our tablature, which, on the contrary, is wholly epic, heroic, and in the tragic ſtyle, would not ſo eaſily admit of any thing in this light way.

We may beſides conſider, that whereas the mind is naturally led to fancy myſtery in a work of ſuch a genius or ſtyle of painting as ours, and to confound with each other the two diſtinct kinds of the emblematic and merely hiſtorical, or poetic; we ſhould take care not to afford it this occaſion of error and deviation, by introducing into a piece of ſo uniform a deſign, ſuch appendices, or ſupplementary parts, as, under pretext of giving light to the hiſtory, or characterizing the figures, ſhould ſerve only to diſtract or diſſipate the ſight, and confound the judgment of the more intelligent ſpectators.

"Will it then," ſays one, "be poſſible to make "out the ſtory of theſe two dames in company "with Hercules, without otherwiſe diſtinguiſhing "them than as above deſcribed?" We anſwer, it is poſſible; and not that only, but certain and infallible, in the caſe of one who has the leaſt

[1] This is underſtood of the *machine-work*, when it is merely ornamental, and not eſſential in the piece, by making part of the hiſtory, or fable itſelf.

genius, or has ever heard in general concerning Hercules, without so much as having ever heard this history in particular. But if, notwithstanding this, we would needs add some exterior marks, more declaratory and determinative of these two personages, Virtue and Pleasure; it may be performed, however, without any necessary recourse to what is absolutely of the emblem kind. The manner of this may be explained as follows.

The energy or natural force of Virtue, according to the moral philosophy of highest note among the ancients, was expressed in the double effect of forbearance and endurance [2], or what we may otherwise call refrainment and support. For the former, the bit or bridle, placed somewhere on the side of Virtue, may serve as emblem sufficient; and for the second, the helmet may serve in the same manner; especially since they are each of them appurtenances essential to heroes, who, in quality of warriors, were also subduers or managers of horses [3], and that at the same time these are really portable instruments, such as the martial dame, who represents Virtue, may be well supposed to have brought along with her.

On the side of Pleasure, certain vases, and other pieces of embossed plate, wrought in the figures of satyrs, fawns, and bacchanals, may serve to

[2] Καρτερία, ἐγκράτεια. They were described as sisters in the emblematic moral philosophy of the ancients. Whence that known precept, Ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου, *Sustine et abstine.*

[3] *Castor*, *Pollux*; all the heroes of *Homer*; *Alexander* the Great, &c.

expreſs the debauches of the table-kind. And certain draperies thrown careleſsly on the ground, and hung upon a neighbouring tree, forming a kind of bower and couch for this luxurious dame, may ſerve ſufficiently to ſuggeſt the thought of other indulgences, and to ſupport the image of the effeminate, indolent, and amorous paſſions. Beſides that, for this latter kind, we may reſt ſatisfied, it is what the painter will hardly fail of repreſenting to the full. The fear is, leſt he ſhould overdo this part, and expreſs the affection too much to the life. The appearance will, no doubt, be ſtrongly wrought in all the features and proportions of this third figure; which is of a reliſh far more popular, and vulgarly engaging, than that other oppoſed to it, in our hiſtorical deſign.

CONCLUSION.

WE may conclude this argument with a general reflection, which ſeems to ariſe naturally from what has been ſaid on this ſubject in particular, "That in a real hiſtory-painter, the ſame knowledge, the ſame ſtudy, and views, are required, as in a real poet." Never can the poet, whilſt he juſtly holds that name, become a relator, or hiſtorian at large. He is allowed only to deſcribe a ſingle action, not the actions of a ſingle man, or people. The painter is a hiſtorian at the ſame rate, but ſtill more narrowly confined, as in fact

appears; ſince it would certainly prove a more ridiculous attempt to comprehend two or three diſtinct actions or parts of hiſtory in one picture, than to comprehend ten times the number in one and the ſame poem.

It is well known, that to each ſpecies of poetry there are natural proportions and limits aſſigned. And it would be a groſs abſurdity indeed to imagine, that in a poem there was nothing which we could call meaſure or number, except merely in the verſe. An elegy, and an epigram, have each of them their meaſure and proportion, as well as a tragedy, or epic poem. In the ſame manner, as to painting, ſculpture, or ſtatuary, there are particular meaſures which form what we call a piece: as for inſtance, in mere portraiture, a head, or buſt: the former of which muſt retain always the whole, or at leaſt a certain part of the neck; as the latter the ſhoulders, and a certain part of the breaſt. If any thing be added or retrenched, the piece is deſtroyed. It is then a mangled trunk, or diſmembered body, which preſents itſelf to our imagination; and this too not through uſe merely, or on the account of cuſtom, but of neceſſity, and by the nature of the appearance; ſince there are ſuch and ſuch parts of the human body, which are naturally matched, and muſt appear in company; the ſection, if unſkilfully made, being in reality horrid, and repreſenting rather an amputation in ſurgery, than a ſeemly diviſion or ſeparation according to art. And thus it is, that in general, through all the plaſtic arts, or works of imitation,

" what-ſoever is drawn from nature, with the " intention of raiſing in us the imagination of the " natural ſpecies or object, according to real " beauty and truth, ſhould be compriſed in certain " complete portions or diſtricts, which repreſent " the correſpondency or union of each part of " nature with entire Nature herſelf." And it is this natural apprehenſion, or anticipating ſenſe of unity, which makes us give even to the works of our inferior artiſans the name of pieces, by way of excellence, and as denoting the juſtneſs and truth of work.

In order therefore to ſucceed rightly in the formation of any thing truly beautiful in this higher order of deſign; it were to be wiſhed, that the artiſt, who had underſtanding enough to comprehend what a real piece or tablature imported, and who, in order to this, had acquired the knowledge of a whole and parts, would afterwards apply himſelf to the ſtudy of moral and poetic truth; that by this means the thoughts, ſentiments, or manners, which hold the firſt rank in his hiſtorical work, might appear ſuitable to the higher and nobler ſpecies of humanity in which he practiſed, to the genius of the age which he deſcribed, and to the principal or main action which he choſe to repreſent. He would then naturally learn to reject thoſe falſe ornaments of affected graces, exaggerated paſſions, hyperbolical and prodigious forms; which, equally with the mere capricious and groteſque, deſtroy the juſt ſimplicity and unity eſſential in a piece. And for his coloring, he would then ſoon

find how much it became him to be reſerved, ſevere, and chaſte, in this particular of his art; where luxury and libertiniſm are, by the power of faſhion and the modern taſte, become ſo univerſally eſtabliſhed.

It is evident however from reaſon itſelf, as well as from hiſtory [4] and experience, that nothing is more fatal, either to painting, architecture, or the other arts, than this falſe reliſh, which is governed rather by what immediately ſtrikes the ſenſe, than by what conſequentially, and by reflection, pleaſes the mind, and ſatisfies the thought and reaſon. So that whilſt we look on painting with the ſame eye as we view commonly the rich ſtuffs and colored ſilks worn by our ladies, and admired in dreſs, equipage, or furniture; we muſt of neceſſity be effeminate in our taſte, and utterly ſet wrong as to all judgment and knowledge in the kind. For of this imitative art we may juſtly ſay, "That "though it borrows help indeed from colors, and "uſes them, as means, to execute its deſigns; "it has nothing, however, more wide of its real "aim, or more remote from its intention, than "to make a ſhow of colors, or from their mix-"ture to raiſe a ſeparate and flattering pleaſure to "the ſenſe [5]."

[4] See *Vitruvius* and *Pliny*.

[5] The pleaſure is plainly foreign and *ſeparate*, as having no concern or share in the proper delight or entertainment which naturally ariſes from the ſubject, and workmanship itſelf. For the ſubject, in reſpect of pleaſure, as well as ſcience, is abſolutely completed, when the deſign is executed, and the propoſed imitation once accomplished. And thus it always is the beſt, when the colors are moſt ſubdued, and made ſubſervient.

A

LETTER

CONCERNING THE

ART OR SCIENCE,

OF

DESIGN,

WRITTEN FROM ITALY, ON THE OCCASION OF

THE JUDGMENT OF HERCULES,

TO

My LORD * * *

——— *Ante omnia Musæ.*

Virg. Georg. lib. 2.

D

T
pa
fo
wh
pr
pa
pr
an
go
of
be
any
and

inf
my
no
and
int
no
eff

A

LETTER

CONCERNING

DESIGN.

MY LORD,

THIS letter comes to your Lordſhip, accompanied with a ſmall writing, intitled, A Notion; for ſuch alone can that piece deſervedly be called, which aſpires no higher than to the forming of a project, and that too in ſo vulgar a ſcience as painting. But whatever the ſubject be, if it can prove any way entertaining to you, it will ſufficiently anſwer my deſign. And if poſſible it may have that good ſucceſs, I ſhould have no ordinary opinion of my project; ſince I know how hard it would be to give your Lordſhip a real entertainment by any thing which was not in ſome reſpect worthy and uſeful.

On this account I muſt, by way of prevention, inform your Lordſhip, that after I had conceived my Notion ſuch as you ſee it upon paper; I was not contented with this, but fell directly to work; and, by the hand of a maſter-painter, brought it into practice, and formed a real deſign. This was not enough, I reſolved afterwards to ſee what effect it would have, when taken out of mere black

and white, into colors: and thus a ſketch was afterwards drawn. This pleaſed ſo well, that being encouraged by the virtuoſi, who are ſo eminent in this part of the world, I reſolved at laſt to engage my painter in the great work. Immediately a cloth was beſpoke of a ſuitable dimenſion, and the figures taken as big or bigger than the common life; the ſubject being of the heroic kind, and requiring rather ſuch figures as ſhould appear above ordinary human ſtature.

Thus my Notion, as light as it may prove in the treatiſe, is become very ſubſtantial in the workmanſhip. The piece is ſtill in hand, and like to continue ſo for ſome time; otherwiſe the firſt draught or deſign ſhould have accompanied the treatiſe, as the treatiſe does this letter. But the deſign having grown thus into a ſketch, and the ſketch afterwards into a picture, I thought it fit your Lordſhip ſhould either ſee the ſeveral pieces together, or be troubled only with that which was the beſt; as undoubtedly the great one muſt prove, if the maſter I employ ſinks not very much below himſelf, in this performance.

Far ſurely ſhould I be, my Lord, from conceiving any vanity or pride in amuſements of ſuch an inferior kind as theſe, eſpecially were they ſuch as they may naturally at firſt ſight appear. I pretend not here to apologiſe either for them, or for myſelf. Your Lordſhp however knows, I have naturally ambition enough to make me deſirous of employing myſelf in buſineſs of a higher order; ſince it has been my fortune in public affairs to act often

in concert with you, and in the ſame views, on the intereſt of Europe and mankind. There was a time, and that a very early one of my life, when I was not wanting to my country in this reſpect. But after ſome years of hearty labor and pains in this kind of workmanſhip, an unhappy breach in my health drove me not only from the ſeat of buſineſs, but forced me to ſeek theſe foreign climates; where, as mild as winters generally are, I have with much ado lived out this latter one; and am now, as your Lordſhip finds, employing myſelf in ſuch eaſy ſtudies as are moſt ſuitable to my ſtate of health, and to the genius of the country where I am confined.

This in the mean time I can, with ſome aſſurance, ſay to your Lordſhip, in a kind of ſpirit of prophecy, from what I have obſerved of the riſing genius of our nation, That if we live to ſee a peace any way anſwerable to that generous ſpirit with which this war was begun and carried on, for our own liberty and that of Europe; the figure we are like to make abroad, and the increaſe of knowledge, induſtry, and ſenſe, at home, will render united Britain the principal ſeat of arts; and, by her politeneſs and advantages in this kind, will ſhow evidently, how much ſhe owes to thoſe counſels which taught her to exert herſelf ſo reſolutely in behalf of the common cauſe, and that of her own liberty, and happy conſtitution, neceſſarily included.

I can myſelf remember the time, when, in reſpect of muſic, our reigning taſte was in many degrees inferior to the Freneh. The long reign of

luxury and pleaſure under King Charles II. and the foreign helps and ſtudied advantages given to muſic in a following reign, could not raiſe our genius the leaſt in this reſpect. But when the ſpirit of the nation was grown more free, though engaged at that time in the fierceſt war, and with the moſt doubtful ſucceſs; we no ſooner began to turn ourſelves towards muſic, and inquire what Italy in particular produced, than in an inſtant we outſtripped our neighbours the French, entered into a genius far beyond theirs, and raiſed ourſelves an ear and judgment not inferior to the beſt now in the world.

In the ſame manner, as to painting: Though we have as yet nothing of our own native growth in this kind worthy of being mentioned; yet ſince the public has of late begun to expreſs a reliſh for engravings, drawings, copyings, and for the original paintings of the chief Italian ſchools, ſo contrary to the modern French, I doubt not that, in very few years, we ſhall make an equal progreſs in this other ſcience. And when our humor turns us to cultivate theſe deſigning arts, our genius, I am perſuaded, will naturally carry us over the ſlighter amuſements, and lead us to that higher, more ſerious, and noble part of imitation, which relates to hiſtory, human nature, and the chief degree or order of beauty; I mean that of the rational life, diſtinct from the merely vegetable and ſenſible, as in animals, or plants; according to thoſe ſeveral degrees or orders of painting which your Lordſhip will find ſuggeſted in this extemporary notion I have ſent you.

As for architecture, it is no wonder if ſo many noble deſigns of this kind have miſcarried amongſt us; ſince the genius of our nation has hitherto been ſo little turned this way, that through ſeveral reigns we have patiently ſeen the nobleſt public buildings periſh, if I may ſay ſo, under the hand of one ſingle court-architect; who, if he had been able to profit by experience, would long ſince, at our expenſe, have proved the greateſt maſter in the world. But I queſtion whether our patience is like to hold much longer. The devaſtation ſo long committed in this kind, has made us begin to grow rude and clamorous at the hearing of a new palace ſpoilt, or a new deſign committed to ſome raſh or impotent pretender.

It is the good fate of our nation in this particular, that there remain yet two of the nobleſt ſubjects for architecture; our prince's palace, and our houſe of parliament. For I cannot but fancy, that when Whitehall is thought of, the neighbouring Lords and Commons will at the ſame time be placed in better chambers and apartments than at preſent; were it only for majeſty's ſake, and as a magnificence becoming the perſon of the prince, who here appears in full ſolemnity. Nor do I fear that when theſe new ſubjects are attempted, we ſhould miſcarry as groſsly as we have done in others before. Our ſtate, in this reſpect, may prove perhaps more fortunate than our church, in having waited till a national taſte was formed, before theſe edifices were undertaken. But the zeal of the nation could not, it ſeems, admit ſo long a delay in their eccleſiaſtical ſtructures, parti-

cularly their metropolitan. And ſince a zeal of this ſort has been newly kindled amongſt us, it is like we ſhall ſee from afar the many ſpires ariſing in our great city, with ſuch haſty and ſudden growth as may be the occaſion perhaps that our immediate reliſh ſhall be hereafter cenſured, as retaining much of what artiſts call the Gothic kind.

Hardly, indeed, as the public now ſtands, ſhould we bear to ſee a Whitehall treated like a Hampton-Court, or even a new cathedral like St Paul's. Almoſt every one now becomes concerned, and intereſts himſelf in ſuch public ſtructures. Even thoſe pieces too are brought under the common cenſure, which, though raiſed by private men, are of ſuch a grandeur and magnificence, as to become national ornaments. The ordinary man may build his cottage, or the plain gentleman his country-houſe, according as he fancies: but when a great man builds, he will find little quarter from the public, if, inſtead of a beautiful pile, he raiſes, at a vaſt expenſe, ſuch a falſe and counterfeit piece of magnificence, as can be juſtly arraigned for its deformity by ſo many knowing men in art, and by the whole people, who in ſuch a conjuncture, readily follow their opinion.

In reality, the people are no ſmall parties in this cauſe. Nothing moves ſucceſsfully without them. There can be no public, but where they are included. And without a public voice, knowingly guided and directed, there is nothing which can raiſe a true ambition in the artiſt; nothing which can exalt the genius of the workman, or make him emulous of after fame, and of the approbation

of his country, and of posterity. For with these he naturally, as a freeman, must take part; in these he has a passionate concern and interest, raised in him by the same genius of liberty, the same laws and government, by which his property and the rewards of his pains and industry, are secured to him, and to his generation after him.

Every thing co-operates, in such a state, towards the improvement of art and science. And for the designing arts in particular, such as architecture, painting, and statuary, they are in a manner linked together. The taste of one kind brings necessarily that of the others along with it. When the free spirit of a nation turns itself this way, judgements are formed; critics arise; the public eye and ear improve; a right taste prevails, and in a manner forces its way. Nothing is so improving, nothing so natural, so congenial to the liberal arts, as that reigning liberty and high spirit of a people, which, from the habit of judging in the highest matters for themselves, makes them freely judge of other subjects, and enter thoroughly into the characters as well of men and manners, as of the products or works of men, in art and science. So much, my Lord, do we owe to the excellence of our national constitution, and legal monarchy; happily fitted for us, and which alone could hold together so mighty a people; all shares, though at so far a distance from each other, in the government of themselves, and meeting under one head in one vast metropolis; whose enormous growth, however censurable in other respects, is actually a

cauſe that workmanſhip and arts of ſo many kinds ariſe to ſuch perfection.

What encouragement our higher powers may think fit to give theſe growing arts, I will not pretend to gueſs. This I know, that it is ſo much for their advantage and intereſt to make themſelves the chief parties in the cauſe, that I wiſh no court or miniſtry, beſides a truly virtuous and wiſe one, may ever concern themſelves in the affair. For ſhould they do ſo, they would in reality do more harm than good; ſince it is not the nature of a court, ſuch as courts generally are, to improve, but rather corrupt a taſte. And what is in the beginning ſet wrong by their example, is hardly ever afterwards recoverable in the genius of a nation.

Content therefore I am, my Lord, that Britain ſtands in this reſpect as ſhe now does. Nor can one, methinks, with juſt reaſon, regret her having hitherto made no greater advancement in theſe affairs of art. As her conſtitution has grown, and been eſtabliſhed, ſhe has in proportion fitted herſelf for other improvements. There has been no anticipation in the caſe. And in this ſurely ſhe muſt be eſteemed wiſe, as well as happy, that ere ſhe attempted to raiſe herſelf any other taſte or reliſh, ſhe ſecured herſelf a right one in government. She has now the advantage of beginning in other matters on a new foot. She has her models yet to ſeek, her ſcale and ſtandard to form, with deliberation and good choice. Able enough ſhe is at preſent to ſhift for herſelf, however abandoned or helpleſs ſhe has been left by thoſe whom it became

to

to assist her. Hardly, indeed, could she procure a single academy for the training of her youth in exercises. As good soldiers as we are, and as good horses as our climate affords, our princes, rather than expend their treasure this way, have suffered our youth to pass into a foreign nation to learn to ride. As for other academies, such as those for painting, sculpture, or architecture, we have not so much as heard of the proposal; whilst the prince of our rival nation raises academies, breeds youth, and sends rewards and pensions into foreign countries, to advance the interest and credit of his own. Now if, notwithstanding the industry and pains of this foreign court, and the supine unconcernedness of our own, the national taste however rises, and already shews itself in many respects beyond that of our so highly-assisted neighbours; what greater proof can there be of the superiority of genius in one of these nations above the other?

It is but this moment that I chance to read in an article of one of the gazettes from Paris, that it is resolved at court to establish a new academy for political affairs. " In it the present chief minister " is to preside; having under him six academists, " doués des talens nécessaires: — No person to " be received under the age of twenty-five. A " thousand livres pension for each scholar. — Able " masters to be appointed for teaching them the " necessary sciences, and instructing them in the " treaties of peace and alliances which have been " formerly made. — The members to assemble " three times a-week. — C'est de ce séminaire,

" (ſays the writer), qu'on tirera les ſecretaires
" d'ambaſſade, qui par degrés pourront monter à
" de plus hauts emplois."

I muſt confeſs, my Lord, as great an admirer as I am of theſe regular inſtitutions, I cannot but look upon an academy for miniſters as a very extraordinary eſtabliſhment, eſpecially in ſuch a monarchy as France, and at ſuch a conjuncture as the preſent. It looks as if the miniſters of that court had diſcovered lately ſome new methods of negotiation, ſuch as their predeceſſors Richelieu and Mazarine never thought of; or that, on the contrary, they have found themſelves ſo declined, and at ſuch a loſs in the management of this preſent treaty, as to be forced to take their leſſon from ſome of thoſe miniſters with whom they treat: a reproach, of which, no doubt, they muſt be highly ſenſible.

But it is not my deſign here to entertain your Lordſhip with any reflections upon politics, or the methods which the French may take to raiſe themſelves new miniſters, or new generals; who may prove a better match for us than hitherto, whilſt we held our old. I will only ſay to your Lordſhip on this ſubject of academies, that indeed I have leſs concern for the deficiency of ſuch a one as this, than of any other which could be thought of for England; and that as for a ſeminary of ſtateſmen, I doubt not but, without this extraordinary help, we ſhall be able, out of our old ſtock, and the common courſe of buſineſs, conſtantly to furniſh a ſufficient number of well-qualified perſons to ſerve upon occaſion, either

at home, or in our foreign treaties, as often as ſuch perſons accordingly qualified ſhall duly, honeſtly, and bona fide, be required to ſerve.

I return therefore to my virtuoſo-ſcience; which being my chief amuſement in this place and circumſtance, your Lordſhip has by it a freſh inſtance that I can never employ my thoughts with ſatisfaction on any ſubject, without making you a party. For even this very Notion had its riſe chiefly from the converſation of a certain day, which I had the happineſs to paſs a few years ſince in the country with your Lordſhip. It was there you ſhowed me ſome engravings which had been ſent you from Italy. One in particular I well remember, of which the ſubject was the very ſame with that of my written Notion incloſed. But by what hand it was done, or after what maſter, or how executed, I have quite forgot. It was the ſummer-ſeaſon, when you had receſs from buſineſs. And I have accordingly calculated this epiſtle and project for the ſame receſs and leiſure. For by the time this can reach England, the ſpring will be far advanced, and the national affairs in a manner over, with thoſe who are not in the immediate adminiſtration.

Were that indeed your Lordſhip's lot at preſent, I know not whether, in regard to my country, I ſhould dare throw ſuch amuſements as theſe in your way. Yet, even in this caſe, I would venture to ſay, however, in defence of my project, and of the cauſe of painting, that could my young hero come to your Lordſhip as well repreſented

as he might have been, either by the hand of a Marat* or a Jordano, the maſters who were in being, and in repute, when I firſt travelled here in Italy, the picture itſelf, whatever the treatiſe proved, would have been worth notice, and might have become a preſent worthy of our court, and prince's palace; eſpecially were it ſo bleſſed as to lodge within it a royal iſſue of her Majeſty's. Such a piece of furniture might well fit the gallery, or hall of exerciſes, where our young princes ſhould learn their uſual leſſons. And to ſee Virtue in this garb and action, might perhaps be no ſlight memorandum hereafter to a royal youth, who ſhould one day come to undergo this trial himſelf; on which his own happineſs, as well as the fate of Europe and of the world, would in ſo great a meaſure depend.

This, my Lord, is making, as you ſee, the moſt I can of my project, and ſetting off my amuſements with the beſt color I am able; that I may be the more excuſable in communicating them to your Lordſhip, and expreſſing thus, with what zeal I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's,

Naples, March 6.
N. S. 1712.

moſt faithful

humble ſervant,

SHAFTESBURY.

* *Carlo Marat* was yet alive, at the time this letter was written; but had been long ſuperannuated, and incapable of any conſiderable performance.

INDEX.

The volumes are denoted by numeral letters, the pages by figures.

A.

B.

INDEX.

C.

INDEX.

Country,

D.

E.

F.

G.

INDEX.

H.

I.

Italians,

K.

M.

N.

O.

P.

Q.

R.

S.

T

U.

V.

W

INDEX

X

Z

THE END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

Printed by J. J. TOURNEISEN.